

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIII

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1931

No. 3464

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS	557
EDITORIALS:	
The United States and Manchuria.....	560
Lynching the Innocent	561
The Book of the Year	561
Pot Calls Kettle	562
SPEAKING OF REVOLUTION . . . By Hendrik Willem van Loon..	563
BUSINESS TALKS. By Robert S. Allen.....	564
EVERYBODY VOTES FOR TAMMANY. By Amicus Most.....	566
IF I WERE DICTATOR. By G. Lowes Dickinson.....	567
WHAT IS THE NAVY LEAGUE? By Benjamin H. Williams.....	569
RUSSIA AND THE WORLD CRISIS. By Louis Fischer.....	571
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter.....	572
CORRESPONDENCE	573
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE	574
FINANCE: WHY SILVER FORECASTS RECOVERY. By S. Palmer Harman	574
BOOKS, FILMS, DRAMA:	
This Dark Recession. By Leslie Nelson Jennings.....	575
The Tragedy of Gold. By Henry Hazlitt.....	575
An Author in Evening Dress. By Gerald Sykes.....	576
Julian Huxley on Religion. By Joseph Wood Krutch.....	576
A Dead Poetic Movement. By Horace Gregory.....	577
A Great Proconsul. By Henry Bamford Parkes.....	578
Experiments in Liquor Control. By William MacDonald.....	578
Technical Difficulty. By Kenneth White.....	579
The Sisson "Documents." By Louis Fischer.....	579
Books in Brief.....	580
Drama: Fools. By Joseph Wood Krutch.....	582
Films: Without Motivation. By Margaret Marshall.....	582

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

DOROTHY VAN DOREN MAURITZ A. HALLGREN
DEVERE ALLEN

DRAMATIC EDITOR

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LITERARY EDITOR

HENRY HAZLITT

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

HEYWOOD BROWN FRED A. KIRCHWEY MARK VAN DOREN
LEWIS S. GANNETT H. L. MENCKEN CARL VAN DOREN
JOHN A. HOBSON NORMAN THOMAS ARTHUR WARNER
DAVID BOEHM, ADVERTISING MANAGER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, \$6.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, \$6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: NATION, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London W. C. 1, England.

ALANSON B. HOUGHTON, our former Ambassador in Berlin and London, has again rendered great public service, this time at the remarkable Armistice Day meeting in Mecca Temple in New York under the chairmanship of Nicholas Murray Butler. He dared greatly and wisely in urging that the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the rest of the world should disarm at Geneva even should France refuse to do so. He found the present French attitude natural and intelligible, if wrong, but he asked:

If the other nations are willing [now] to accept France's military authority, and it exists whether they accept it or not, why should France hesitate to see the other nations united to reduce armaments, and so to promote a more durable peace? Resentment on her part would simply give the lie to all her former professions of peace. So I, for one, venture to urge that in so far as we Americans can help it, the disarmament conference shall not be permitted to wreck itself on the rock of French dissent. That is merely a plausible excuse for doing nothing.

This is true statesmanship. If our government fails to act on this advice and there is disaster at Geneva, the responsibility will rest largely on Mr. Hoover and Mr. Stimson.

Like Dr. Butler, Mr. Houghton is clear that competitive armaments "do not afford security but endanger it." Dr. Butler, by the way, correctly pointed out that the safest nations in the world today are the unarmed countries, "the Switzerlands, the Hollands, the Denmarks, the Norways, and the Swedens."

AS FOR RAMSAY MACDONALD, he went out of his way at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9 to say that "the approaching disarmament conference cannot be dissociated . . . from the general condition of the world. His Majesty's government will work its utmost to secure the success of this conference." He made, however, the mistake of saying that every nation must come into an agreement "which can be accepted by other nations as not being a menace to their security." Here again the head of a government makes the mistake of identifying all the nations with the three or four leading ones. It is genuinely disappointing that the Prime Minister is not willing to come out as flat-footedly as Mr. Houghton. Already a million signatures demanding disarmament have gone forward from Holland, and the women of England are collecting their second million. The leading British intellectuals and teachers have signed a petition demanding a 50 per cent cut in armament. How can the head of their government hesitate? Fortunately, Mr. MacDonald has spoken out more clearly about the economic chaos, and has boldly demanded that debts and reparations be promptly tackled. At the opening of the new Parliament he declared that as long as "the will of man forces an unnatural economic adjustment . . . the world will never succeed, never prosper."

BY CONTRAST with these refreshingly straightforward utterances, the speech of President Hoover on Armistice Day was the typical shuffling of the professional politician. "Peace," he declared, "cannot be had by resolution and injunction alone." Then he added, "Peace is a product of preparedness for defense, the patient settling of controversy, and the dynamic development of the forces of good-will." And to make the confusion of his thought complete, he added that peace is "the result of the delicate balance of that realism born of human experience and of idealism born of the highest of human aspirations for international justice." All of which means precisely nothing beyond an attempt to face both ways. It should be written down on the calendar that Herbert Hoover speaks honestly for peace in the odd-numbered weeks of the year and honestly for whopping big navies and for war in the even-numbered weeks. In between times he systematically endeavors to carry water on both shoulders. This fact is the greatest cause for anxiety in connection with the Geneva conference. If there is not bold and aggressive leadership at Geneva, and a determination to achieve radical results, with or without France, in cooperation with Ramsay MacDonald, then we can expect little or nothing. As usual the stumbling-block to peace is not in the hearts of any people, but in the supreme weakness and cowardice of most of the men in charge of the governments.

DESPITE ALL THE NOISE that has been made with regard to economy in the Navy Department, there is apparently to be no genuine economy. At least an analysis of the navy budget for 1932 shows no substantial reduction from the expenditures of the current fiscal year. It was announced with much enthusiasm in Washington that the tentative budget had been cut by \$59,000,000, and so word went out over the country that that amount was being saved as a result of Mr. Hoover's economy drive. But upon closer examination it was found that the total estimate for 1932 was only \$17,000,000 under the appropriation for the present year. And even this does not present the whole picture. That very useful institution, the deficiency-appropriation bill, has been overlooked. In the second naval-deficiency bill passed at the last session of Congress the navy was given an additional \$17,500,000 not included in its original appropriation. Instead of there being any saving, therefore, the navy is actually asking for \$500,000 *more* than it was given last year! Likewise, in the case of the seventeen ships the retirement of which was ordered a few days ago, it was clearly suggested that this was in line with the Administration's desire to promote economy and help the disarmament cause. But here again there were no practical gains in either direction. Virtually all the ships were slated for retirement because of age.

SOME TEN MILLION men and women are reported to be unemployed in the United States today. But the United States government, according to President Hoover, has not been neglecting them. On September 21 the President announced that by the end of the fiscal year \$1,500,000,000 would have been spent by the federal government for public works "in the aid of unemployment since the depression began." At this announcement the doughty champions of the Administration threw their hats in the air and called for three loud cheers. But what, really, do these figures mean? Mr. Harold Brayman, writing in the *New York Evening Post*, announces that they mean very little. In the first place, all detailed information about the figures is actually refused; in the second place, their total for two and a half years exceeds by only \$122,000,000 the total appropriations for the government's general building program. Instead of a billion and a half dollars spent "in the aid of unemployment since the depression began," therefore, we have the regular building program of the United States government, which would have gone on, in the main, depression or no depression, and \$122,000,000 besides, or roughly \$12 to provide work for each unemployed man. Nor will the entire amount specified by Mr. Hoover have been expended by next June; and much of it, appropriated first in 1928, is long since spent. The actual amount available *this winter* for jobs cannot be, in view of the Administration's coyness in giving out figures, exactly ascertained. But it is plain that it bears no relation to the vast sums that were so flamboyantly announced as the measure of our government's unemployment relief.

GOVERNOR PINCHOT has just sent an eloquent message to the special session of the Pennsylvania legislature appealing for aid for the unemployed. Well he may. Five departments of the government after most careful investigation have agreed that there are no fewer than 90,000 unemployed in that State, the Department of Public Instruc-

tion reporting that 125,000 school children must be given food during the winter. That means that one-quarter of the working people of this great manufacturing State are approaching or have reached complete destitution. Unfortunately, under the constitution and laws of Pennsylvania the legislature cannot make appropriations for unemployed persons and their families, nor can it do so through any State agency or political subdivision of the commonwealth or through welfare agencies. Aid must be extended in other and indirect ways. The Governor therefore asks for a State Commission on Unemployment Relief to collect money from the public and for increased appropriations for the several departments of the government that they may expand their work, notably the building of roads, in order that "so long as the money lasts, no man able to work need be forced to starve." He points out that there are not a few men in the State so rich that each of them could carry the State's whole burden of feeding, housing, and clothing the unemployed. From the legislature he expects \$35,000,000. What will the rich men do? He has already asked only a million of Andrew Mellon, who could do nothing but "take the matter under advisement." We can only hope that, unlike Mr. Mellon, others will respond at once, for the Governor is meeting the situation admirably, with courage, a warm heart, and a sense of the obligation of the State to the hapless which is worthy of the highest commendation.

WITHIN ITS LIMITS President Hoover's plan for setting up twelve home-loan discount banks should be a helpful one. The President proposes that these banks be started with an aggregate capital of \$150,000,000 for the purpose of making advances against mortgages now held by sound building-and-loan associations, savings banks, deposit banks, and farm-loan banks. The loans of the proposed discount banks are not to be made against any mortgage in excess of \$15,000; they must not amount to more than 50 per cent of the face value of the mortgage; and they are not to be made against any mortgage in default. Mr. Hoover estimates that with the capital proposed the new banks could make loans up to \$1,800,000,000, and he hopes that this plan will act as a real stimulus to home-building. In this last hope, so far at least as the immediate effects are concerned, Mr. Hoover is likely to be disappointed. The decline in home-building in the last year or two is not primarily the result of difficulty in obtaining mortgage money. But the President's move is important in so far as it will at least bring relief to the lending institutions and so eventually make more funds available for new mortgage loans than there might be otherwise. It should have the important incidental effect, also, of ending the recent dangerous agitation for making long-term mortgage loans eligible for rediscount in the Federal Reserve banks.

DISHEARTENING in the extreme—that is the news from the latest German election. In Hesse the National Socialists, in the voting for the new Diet, more than doubled their vote of a year ago in the Reichstag contest and smashed the so-called "Weimar coalition" of Socialists, Democrats, and Centrists which has ruled Hesse ever since the revolution of 1919. That is a bad day's work; as usual the middle parties were crushed and the Social Democrats paid the price by a loss of 47,000 votes. They are now the

second party, with 168,300 votes, the Hitlerites having rolled up 290,000, as compared with 138,000 fourteen months ago, while the Center not only held its own but gathered in 8,000 additional ballots. This latter fact may be due to Dr. Brüning's personal appearance in the Hessian campaign; otherwise the result is undeniably another severe blow to the Chancellor's prestige. That he will be able to hold himself through the winter still appears probable; but the vote in Hesse is ominous indeed when one recalls that the Prussian Diet elections come next spring and that if Otto Braun, the Prussian President, falls, the way will be opened for a Hitler Government in the Reich.

AFTER MANY MONTHS of hesitation the railroads have at last consented to enter into national conference with the railroad unions and to consider their mutual problems of employment and wages. Thus, after a very considerable and unwise delay, the roads are adopting the proposal made by the unions some time ago. In the meantime conditions have been getting steadily worse for everybody concerned—stockholders, bondholders, management, and labor. The prices of railroad securities have been dropping ever since it became clear that this was not to be a short depression and that the income of the railroads would suffer both from the decline in general business and from the competition of trucks, pipe lines, and airplanes. Uncontrolled disruption of the railroad-security market was bound to produce alarming effects throughout the business system, because these securities have for a long time been the prime investments of trust funds, banks, and insurance companies. The more important holders of railroad securities have taken steps to protect their interests but it is not clear that they can accomplish much without a fundamental improvement in business and, hence, in railroad earnings. With the drop in traffic and the need for drastic economy, the management of the roads kept off the question of labor. The unions consequently find themselves faced with the problem of a large and growing volume of unemployment among all classes of railroad labor. To railway owners, operators, and security-holders, all concerned with protecting the capital structure of railroad companies, the only solution for the existing critical situation lies either in increasing rates or in reducing wages, or in both.

THE ALTERNATIVE of higher rates was rejected by the Interstate Commerce Commission within the past few weeks. Since then the newspapers have been filled with every variety of rumor announcing, at the one extreme, the voluntary acceptance of wage cuts by the workmen of specified companies, and at the other the summary rejection of the whole idea by the representatives of organized railroad labor. It is in this atmosphere that the conversations between management and labor are taking place. The unions, vastly troubled by the plight of their unemployed members, have apparently decided to meet requests for wage concessions with demands for an unemployment program, which may take the form of a universal reduction in the work day, unemployment insurance, or both. The railroads, while they are on this occasion acting in unison, have made it clear in their preliminary announcements that decisions cannot be made in the conference affecting specific conditions of employment on individual lines. If this should continue to be

their attitude, it is difficult to see how any plan for absorbing a substantial number of unemployed railroad men can grow out of these deliberations. A joint program for reducing costs and absorbing the unemployed must, to be effective, apply to the railroad industry as a whole and must involve the type of measures of industrial planning which were forecast by President Robertson of the Locomotive Firemen in his recent testimony before the La Follette committee in Washington.

THOSE PERSONS who thought that book censorship was about dead in the United States owing to the admirable efforts of Morris Ernst and his enthusiastic coworkers will be surprised to hear the report of John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. Mr. Sumner said that seizures by the society in the past year had been "the greatest in history": books, "novelties" to the number of 16,000, \$8,000 worth of reputed immorality in one haul, one burlesque show, and a number of copies of "Fannie Hill" are among the exhibits to which Mr. Sumner points with pride. "Generally speaking," he declared, "we can obtain convictions today in cases which would have resulted in acquittals four years ago." And as if to prove that the censorship business is looking up, comes the announcement that the Federal Customs Bureau, on appeal, on November 11 barred a group of etchings by James McNeill Whistler and Anders Zorn as obscene. When it was pointed out to Anthony Czarnecki, Collector of Customs of Chicago, who first forbade the admission of the pictures to that delicately constituted city, that the artists in question were welcomed in every picture gallery in the country, he replied that displaying a picture, even a nude, in an art gallery was one thing, and selling copies of it to the unprotected public was something different and evidently more dangerous. The censorship battle is by no means won. We are a long way from our goal, that of permitting grown-ups to decide for themselves what books they shall buy, what plays they shall see, and even what pictures of undressed females they shall look upon.

WE SHOULD LIKE to call the attention of Congressman Hamilton Fish and others of his kind, who live in dread of the red menace, to the large votes rolled up by the Communists in the recent elections in New York City and in Great Britain. In England, Scotland, and Wales together the number of Communists who went to the polls reached the alarming total of 74,824 out of a total British electorate of 21,399,175. If this does not show that the British Empire is in danger, what could? Beside it all questions of the gold standard, unemployment, and the downfall of British industry pale into insignificance. The King must now feel for the first time that his throne totters under him. In New York City the results were even more terrifying, especially in view of the fact that we know how much Russian money has been poured into the metropolis for the purpose of corrupting our so easily corrupted American electorate. There were 363,237 votes cast in the Borough of Manhattan, and—hold your breath, please—no fewer than 1,798 of them were recorded for the Communist candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan. Tremble, Mr. Fish, tremble, and sleep not of nights. The Communist enemy is within our doors.

The United States and Manchuria

IN all the welter of the conflicting news from Manchuria nothing stands out clearly save that more than ever the world's peace machinery is at stake and that the time has come for the United States to show its hand and lay its cards upon the table. We have heard and read the evidence on both sides from the most competent authorities. We are entirely convinced that no matter what the Chinese provocation, there is no defense for the Japanese aggression, and that, if there is not a united and determined front by the League and the United States, the Japanese will sooner or later annex Manchuria as they have Korea. What we need most to throw light on the situation is for our State Department to let us know what it has actually been doing and why it is that in at least a section of the Japanese press the belief prevails that the United States has been supporting Japan rather than the League. Our Administration owes it to itself to make its own attitude clear to every American citizen, unless a hideous injustice is to be perpetrated in Manchuria, the seeds of future war sown, the League of Nations humiliated and defied, and both the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg pact definitely breached.

Since the capture of Mukden on the night of September 18 the American people have been kept in the dark as to the exact position of their government in the Manchurian controversy. The State Department has acted with hesitation and with secrecy. The American consul at Geneva did, of course, participate in the deliberations of the League of Nations Council a month ago; it is also true that Ambassador Dawes has been sent to Paris to be near the Council during its present discussion of the Manchurian question; and it is equally true that the State Department has professed a desire to see this question peacefully settled. But it has sent numerous communications to Tokio the contents of which have not been made public, and it has acted very slowly in supporting the various measures the League has taken to bring about a settlement.

It is not particularly important now to point out that Washington could have invoked either the Kellogg pact or the Nine-Power Treaty immediately after the first outburst in Manchuria. Perhaps the State Department had excellent reasons for hesitating at that juncture. But why, after publicly promising to support the League's program so far as it consistently could do so, the department should have waited several days before joining with the League when it invoked the Kellogg pact on October 17 has never been satisfactorily explained. Certainly there would have been no inconsistency in hastening to support a treaty to which the United States was not only a party, but of which it was the chief sponsor. Again, the State Department hesitated after the League Council voted on October 24 to request the Japanese to withdraw their troops into the railway zone before November 16. Several days were allowed to elapse before any communication touching on this point was sent to Tokio from Washington. And even here the strictest secrecy was observed. No one outside the State Department and the Tokio Foreign Office knows what the United States has said to Japan in connection with the League's demand that Japan withdraw its

troops. The American press and public are simply told that the department is following a policy of "responsible silence," and that the people must "take the department on trust for a while." It was just such "responsible silence"—a phrase which would doubtless have appealed to Isvolski, Poincaré, Baron Holstein, and the British Foreign Office had it been invented in time—that helped to bring on the World War. How can the American people, viewing today the disastrous results of an era of secret diplomacy in Europe, take "on trust" the utterances of their government when it insists on following precisely the same perilous course?

The net consequence of this secret diplomacy has been to raise a suspicion in Geneva that the United States is sabotaging the League's efforts, and to encourage Tokio into believing that the United States has covertly been supporting the Japanese position in Manchuria. The Osaka *Mainichi*, the Tokio *Nichi-Nichi*, the *Japan Times*, and other influential newspapers have openly interpreted the American policy as one of partiality for the Japanese. In an editorial dated October 19 the *Japan Times* said: "Official circles Monday intimated that the present attitude of the United States toward the Manchurian incident, which has been misunderstood to some extent in Japan, especially after the recent participation of an American observer in the League Council, has now come to be appreciated considerably by the Japanese government *as it has been made clear that the United States government is very favorably inclined toward Japan.*"

The State Department has sought to excuse its secrecy on the ground that publication of the various notes that have passed between Washington and Tokio would embarrass the "peace party" of Japan in its attempts to curb the militarists in Manchuria. Such an excuse might be understood if there really were a "peace party" in existence in Japan today. But the liberal opponents of the militarists, far from seeking to curb them, have been united behind them ever since September 18. The Osaka *Mainichi* and the Tokio *Nichi-Nichi*, the two great liberal newspapers, have long opposed the often unrestrained activities of the military clans. On November 15, however, Hikoichi Motoyama, owner of these papers, revealed in an article published by the New York *Times* that this excuse of the State Department for its secrecy is now without warrant. Mr. Motoyama said: "It is not always that we Japanese people agree with our government, but in the main issues regarding the Manchurian question *the whole nation is in perfect accord, regardless of political parties or philosophical schools. We stand united behind our government.*"

If it is not true that the United States has been covertly supporting Japan in the present emergency, the State Department will have nothing to lose and much to gain by dropping all secrecy and coming out into the open with its Manchurian policy. But if it continues its present course, it cannot complain if the suspicion remains that it is misleading not only the League of Nations but also the American people, who are not unfriendly to Japan but who want to see justice done. Secret diplomacy has never in history been shown to be a firm or lasting foundation for international justice.

Lynching the Innocent

THE most striking thing about the report just issued from the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching is the declaration that "there is real doubt of guilt of at least half the victims of mob violence." This shocking statement from a group of highly respectable and in no sense hysterical citizens points to the blackest page in the dark history of American mob violence. There were twenty-one lynchings in 1930. One of the victims was lynched "solely because he had offended political opponents," and another "to prevent his appearance as a witness in a serious court case against white men. In five of the other eleven cases it was not clear that the mobs got the guilty persons," and in the other six "there was doubt as to the truth of the charges against the men lynched."

The commission carefully considered the time-honored—one might almost say time-dishonored—contention that Negroes are lynched solely for the protection of white female chastity. "The popular opinion that most lynchings are for the punishment of crimes against women," the statement declared, "is wide of the fact, for of 3,593 persons lynched during the forty-one years ending with 1929 only 23 per cent were accused of actual or attempted crimes against women, while 77 per cent were lynched for other offenses." White Southern women have themselves made a protest against this aspect of the situation. The Georgia Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching is only one of the groups organized to condemn mob violence in the South, and the women in this group and in others like it declare that they wish no such "protection for their virtue" as is afforded by burning a black man over a pile of tarred logs.

What, then, are the causes of lynching? The commission finds a direct relationship between lack of education, low economic status, and lynching. Curiously enough, lynchings do not occur most frequently in the "Black Belt," but in thinly settled counties and in those with less than 25 per cent of Negro population. In number of mob victims since 1889, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana led with 465, 464, 364, and 349 lynchings, respectively. But figured on the basis of Negro population, the percentage of lynchings was greatest in Florida, with Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas following in order. It is interesting also to note that of the twenty-one persons lynched in 1930, only one had gone beyond the fifth grade and eleven were totally or practically illiterate. One other popular fallacy was exploded by the commission—the claim that courts do not convict Negroes accused of crime and that lynching is therefore necessary to assure punishment. In eighteen months ending July 1, 1931, 68 Negroes were executed by law in the South and 470 were given life sentences. Eight of the executions were for rape, 57 were for murder, and 3 were for other crimes.

This brings us to the mob itself. The commission rather too solemnly declares what every man and woman who has ever seriously considered the lynching problem knows, that "in most lynching cases, if observers had the will and courage to do it, there would be no difficulty in identifying mob leaders and members. Generally the mob members made little or no effort to conceal their identity; yet officers and others present in their midst usually testified that they recog-

nized none of them." The commission might have said instead that a lynching in many cases is as much a public festival as a barbecue; that men and women attend it in a spirit of ferocious enjoyment; that they mingle freely with one another, neighbors, friends, associates, unmasked and unafraid. Of course they know one another, they know the sheriff and his deputies, and the officers of the law know them in return. Yet the convention that will make it impossible for the sheriff to "recognize" any member of the mob is so clearly understood by everyone in the community that no apprehension is felt in thus being openly engaged in lawless and shameful acts. Indictments were returned in only six lynching cases in 1930, and so far only four of the forty-nine men indicted have been convicted. One may pause to remark that this is probably a high average and is indicative of the slowly changing attitude toward mob violence that is evident in the South.

For the attitude is changing. There were 255 lynchings in 1892 and 10 in 1929; the average for the past six years has been 17. The press, the church, and many prominent citizens have denounced lynching and have taken shame to themselves and to their communities when any occurred. As rather dramatic evidence of this new point of view one may cite an incident that took place a short while ago in Huntingdon, Tennessee, when Mrs. J. C. Butler, wife of the sheriff of Carroll County, was presented with a medal from the community for her heroic action in resisting a mob that attempted to take a prisoner away from the jail she was guarding in the absence of her husband. Mrs. Butler, alone and without a gun, merely told the mob that it would enter the jail "over my dead body." The mob that was brave enough to kill a helpless, unarmed prisoner was faced down by a woman. Mrs. Butler not only deserves the highest commendation for her courage but she points the way to one of the simplest solutions of the lynching problem—respect for their duty on the part of officers of the law.

The Book of the Year

THERE has just been published what in its cumulative force is probably one of the most devastating volumes to appear in the last decade, and yet it is only sixty-four pages long and not a line of it is the author's own. All he has done has been to make a collection of the confidently optimistic prophecies of the past three years from our great statesmen, industrialists, bankers, and economists. These he has printed in the conventional black type, but he has interspersed in red type a record taken from daily headlines, stock and grain quotations, wage reductions, and so on, of what actually followed these prophecies. What will become of the national admiration for our "best minds" if this book gets into real circulation we hesitate to think, for the contrast between prophecy and event is appalling. The author's own attitude is apparently not as reverential as it might be, for he openly calls the book, "Oh Yeah?"*

The volume opens fittingly with the Presidential campaign of 1928, in which Charlie Curtis said: "The only issue in this campaign is the continued prosperity of the American people." Charles Evans Hughes agreed: "Everyone must

* Viking Press, \$1.

realize that if the election results in a Republican victory, business all through the country will be heartened and stimulated." The candidate thought so too: "When we [the Republican Party] assumed direction of the government in 1921 there were five or six million unemployed men upon our streets. . . . Within a year we restored these five million workers to employment. . . . Were it not for sound governmental policies and wise leadership, employment conditions in America today would be similar to those existing in many other parts of the world." On October 25, 1929, the day following the worst crash in Wall Street history, Mr. Hoover made a statement to the press saying, "The fundamental business of the country . . . is on a sound and prosperous basis." As this statement, unfortunately, was followed by further and further breaks, the President thought he would make it stronger. "Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the basic strength of business in the United States," he said in November, 1929, "is foolish."

But the record of Mr. Hoover is already reasonably familiar to our readers, as is that of his lieutenants. We can pause only to recall Dr. Julius Klein's comment in June of this year: "In July up we go," and Andrew Mellon's New Year's message of 1930: "I have every confidence that there will be a revival of activity in the spring." Let us turn to our great industrial leaders, to the Rockefellers, say, who on October 30, 1929, allayed anxiety by announcing that they were accumulating stocks: "Believing that fundamental conditions of the country are sound and that there is nothing in the business situation to warrant the destruction of values that has taken place on the exchanges during the past week," the elder Rockefeller asserted, "my son and I have for some days been purchasing sound common stocks." "Oh Yeah?" follows this statement by printing in red the quotations of "some sound common stocks" on the date of the announcement as compared with their 1931 low prices. For example, Anaconda Copper on that day sold at 95; its low this year was 12½; New York Central was selling then at 199½ and fell this year to 49½; Standard Oil of New Jersey was then 65½ and fell this year to 28¼, and so on. But the prophecy record of the Rockefellers has probably been better than that of the other great business leaders. In "Oh Yeah?" the reader can refresh his memory on the predictions of Charles M. Schwab, Henry Ford, Irving T. Bush, Julius H. Barnes, Charles E. Mitchell, and a score of others; as well as on the views of professional forecasters like Irving Fisher, who concluded on October 16, 1929, that "stock prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau"; of Roger W. Babson, who was luckier—for a few months; and of Leonard Ayres and Sir Oracle Arthur Brisbane.

We regret one or two omissions from the volume. Reed Smoot, for example, is remembered for discovering in April of this year that "one of the most powerful influences working toward business recovery is the tariff act which Congress passed in 1930," but nothing appears of his statements just prior to the passing of the act that American business had slowed down chiefly because of lack of certainty that the great bill would become law. Nor does Mr. Hoover's statement about two automobiles for every family appear. But these are petty shortcomings in the most enlightening history of the American mind that has appeared in years.

Pot Calls Kettle

THOSE who have seen or read Mr. Shaw's "The Apple Cart" will remember the speech made by the American ambassador on the subject of Anglo-American unity. Discussing our common traditions, he turns to one of his English colleagues to remind him that, whereas the latter now has his office in a building designed by an American architect, "I, on the other hand, was brought up in the shadow of Ely Cathedral, which, as you remember, was taken down stone by stone in the year 1935 and reerected in New Jersey."

Unfortunately, however, not all Britishers are prepared to regard with an equal complacency the gradual process by which England is being despoiled of her antiquities. In a speech recently broadcast from London to this country some very hard things were said about those Americans who ruthlessly cart away the ancient structures which they have bought. There is a society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings in Britain which is carrying on a fight against the ruthless destruction and the hardly less disastrous "restoration" of valuable monuments, but the society is apparently helpless against "a few wealthy vandals" who make a practice of "buying up and transporting bodily ancient buildings from England for erection in Squedunkville or some other inappropriate and uncongenial spot across the Atlantic."

In general, we sympathize of course with the plight of any people which is compelled to witness the spoliation of its country. Moreover, it so happens that Viscount Lee of Fareham, who made the speech in question, has earned a certain right to speak through his various activities, which include his presentation of the famous old manor Chequers to the British nation for the use of its Prime Minister. But there are, nevertheless, certain reasons why we consider the situation one which calls rather for simple regret than for a moral indignation directed particularly against Americans. In the first place, it seems to us that those who sell are at least as much at fault as those who buy, and, in the second place, it must be remembered that England itself has been a despoiler in the past. There was at one time no little indignation over the matter of certain statues known as the Elgin Marbles which were certainly not indigenous to the British Isles, and there were also—to come down to more recent times—persons who speculated maliciously over the attitude which Lord Carnarvon would probably take in case a group of Anglophile Egyptians should propose an expedition to England for the purpose of exhuming his ancestors.

Two wrongs do not make a right. On the whole we sympathize with English distress. But there is no doubt about the fact that though the treasures of art inevitably follow wealth and power, it is very difficult for the losers to regard the phenomenon with the philosophic calm which the takers find appropriate. And in that connection we always remember the unconscious irony perpetrated by the directors of a museum of casts which we once visited. One exhibit—which happened to be a reproduction of a bit from a Belgian cathedral—was indignantly labeled, "Stolen by the Germans in 1914." But a little farther down the hall was an Egyptian piece which bore the following more temperate label, "Acquired at the capitulation of Alexandria."

Speaking of Revolution . . .

By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON



L OUD cheers. The band plays the national anthem of the Pays de Cockaigne and Queen Pollyanna in a golden coach drawn by nineteen white mice makes her triumphant entry into the Realm of Peace and Plenty. Three months ago I began this page by talking of revolutions. Three months of Hoover Hooey

and Coolidge Content and, behold, my nails have been clipped, my revolutionary ears have been trimmed as neatly as that of any poor little Scotty, and I smile upon the best of all possible worlds (cellophane wrapped) while the populace dances a dehydrated folk-dance around the softly mooring image of the Golden Calf.

But wait a moment before you stop your subscription to *The Nation* and decide to take the *American Magazine*, arguing that if you want "that sort of thing" you might as well get it at the original source. There is to be a short P. S. and that postscriptum appears today. Rarely before (the word "never" makes historians a bit uneasy) has society been in such an unholy mess. Just because I cannot share the common belief in a bogymen begotten of a capitalistic mother and a father who believed in mass production, that does not mean that I deny the presence of some wicked troll hidden deeply in the darkest corner of the domestic woodpile. Although I have never seen the creature I know that it exists. And what is more, I have been able to define its true nature by sifting all available circumstantial evidence, and its name is the Wrong Accent.

Fair reader and otherwise, have you ever been present at a concert conducted by a maestro who had a wrong sense of rhythm? The tribe exists and its name is legion. To sit through such a performance is a torture of the first magnitude, for no matter how well the fiddlers fiddle or the brassy bray or how adequately the percussion department serves kettle and bass drum, the thing-as-a-whole will cause you a week of uninterrupted nightmares. In music the true pitch and the true shadings mean much, but the accent means everything. Turn ta-ta-ta-tee into ta-tata-tee and a world comes to an end, a dozen planets are turned back upon their predestined courses, while Betelgeuse is reduced to the dimensions of what our Westport grocer used to call "very small French petit-pois peas."

The wrong accent is the unpardonable sin of which the Good Book speaketh. For God was a master of emphasis. If you have any doubts, read carefully again the first chapter of Genesis.

Every generation has united upon a rhythm of its own. But as long as the majority of the people felt that the emphasis was placed upon the proper note, the marching tune to which they accomplished the voyage from the cradle to the grave became a source of happiness and inspiration which

made them feel that they were in harmony with their surroundings and that life had a meaning and a purpose. Greek music and medieval music and even the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may mean very little to us but that has nothing to do with the case. The question which faces us today is this: How do we like our own little tune? And the answer, speaking for myself and for vast millions of my fellow-men and using the trenchant if inelegant vocabulary of two of the greatest critics of modern existence, Mesdames Anita Loos and Dorothy Parker, the answer is as follows—the tune is lousy.

Here of course my banker friend will sharply disagree with me. He will invite me to sit with him at his desk and watch the procession of men and women as they eagerly push forward to the paying and receiving windows of his Emporium of Business. "How about these?" he will ask me. "The tune seems to suit them all right."

In the first place, does it? And even if it does, does that prove anything except that they are no longer able to hear the difference between right and wrong, that a hundred years of bad conducting has deadened not only their ear but their sense of values?

In my native tongue there is an expression describing the mental state of a person who no longer sees any purpose in existence. "The music has gone out of his life," we say, and even in this clumsy translation it will be clear what I mean. In the case of the world at large the music has not gone out of life, but the tune, instead of being a sprightly song of joy, has been turned into a dirge because the men called upon to conduct the performance insist upon stressing the wrong note, insist upon putting the accent where it does not belong.

There is nothing the matter with the score. I am no pedant. Gershwin and Johann Strauss, being honest and sincere artists, mean quite as much to me as Bach and Haydn, but a Symphony in Blue with the wrong emphasis is just as exasperating and deadly as a Symphonie mit Paukenschlag when the tympanist beats his instrument a second too late or too soon.

There is no use in hollering for new compositions and throwing all the old ones into the ash-can unless we first of all fire the old conductors and get men with a sense for the true accent of life.

It is the accent, the emphasis, that counts. All the rest is of secondary importance. During the last hundred years the emphasis has invariably been on the down beat "things," whereas it should have been on the up beat "men."

And until we shall have found a really first-rate conductor even the interesting Overture Proletarian of Oberkapellmeister Lenin and the Marcia Trionfale of Cavaliere Mussolini will serve no earthly purpose except that they will fill the air with a great deal of unnecessary and often exceedingly unpleasant noise.

As for our Symphonia Domestica—all I can say is, God help us!

Business Talks

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Washington, November 12

DURING the past few weeks, in the committee room of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee on the fourth floor of the Senate Office Building, one of the most illuminating public studies in recent years has been quietly going on. (The hearings have been temporarily suspended, but will be resumed in the near future.) Deftly and skilfully, and in an atmosphere of persuasive friendliness, a penetrating and revealing scalpel has been applied to the economic state of the United States.

And startling indeed is the situation that has been uncovered. But, because it is only the picture as a whole that shocks and stuns, the daily developments have received for the most part only passing press notice. It is too much to expect that such a scholarly and grave survey could successfully compete with visiting French premiers and Presidential "ignorance" commissions. Visitors, too, have been few and infrequent. Occasionally an especially big name among the witnesses has brought some onlookers, but for the most part the high-ceilinged chamber has seen only the direct participants—two Senators, several secretaries, and a handful of reporters.

These quiet, organized, and productive proceedings, unusual at any time, have been all the more remarkable because of the contrast between them and those being conducted simultaneously just two floors below. Here, too, a select Senate committee has been sitting in a special study. But instead of an atmosphere of sympathetic interest and a desire for information, there have been chiefly cheap partisan politics and deliberate obstruction; instead of clarity there has been confusion; instead of planned progress, derision, discourtesy, and stupidity.

The first committee is under the leadership of its sponsor, Senator Robert M. La Follette. Assisting him are Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, and Senator Henry D. Hatfield, of West Virginia, the first a Democrat and the latter a Republican. Senator Sheppard, in his sympathetic interest, regular attendance, and unfailing courtesy, has ably seconded his youthful chairman. Senator Hatfield has so far been present only at the opening session.

The committee was authorized by the Senate in the closing days of the last session to explore the possibilities of economic planning in an uncontrolled capitalistic system such as exists in the United States. Senator La Follette believes that government-directed economic planning is possible in a capitalistic economy. He will introduce legislation for that purpose at the coming session of Congress. To lay a broad, sound basis for this legislative effort he worked for months carefully preparing himself and planning for a wide public survey of the economic situation. He called in the assistance of economists and experts and with their aid mapped out the work and scope of the survey. For each witness summoned, a carefully prepared catechism was worked up. The whole organization work of the committee is an excellent example of high public service.

The second committee has a completely different history.

It is, to begin with, a deliberately stolen committee. Its sponsor, Senator Wagner, also intended to conduct a study of a great public question—unemployment compensation. Like Senator La Follette he proposed to spend the nine months' Congressional interim in making a broad and scholarly inquiry into a subject on which he will offer legislation. It is a long-established Senate rule that the sponsor of a committee, if he so desires, is made its chairman. In recognition of this practice Vice-President Curtis named Wagner as the first member on the committee. That formally established his right to the chairmanship. But Mr. Hoover intervened. Just as he killed the Wagner employment-exchange bill by a veto when he could not defeat it in Congress, he now stepped in to rob Wagner of his committee. He summoned Hebert, of Rhode Island, and Glenn, of Illinois, two of the most servile and reactionary Administration followers in the Senate, whom Curtis had put on the committee, and ordered them to deny Wagner the chairmanship. Despite the shamelessness of this request the two loyal henchmen followed their master's command. By voting for himself Hebert made himself chairman. He and Glenn then rejected all Wagner's plans for an organized and sympathetic study and instead called upon Secretary Doak to lend them one of his agents to prepare a "report" on the matter.

Finally, and wholly without preparation, they announced hearings and invited known opponents and critics of the proposal. Upon Wagner has fallen the whole task of obtaining students and experts on the subject and extracting their authoritative information. These witnesses have been met with open hostility and discourtesy by Hebert and Glenn, who even went so far as to ridicule with raucous laughter the repeated admonition by Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, that men are starving amid boundless plenty. The report of these hearings, if not doctored, will be a record of one of the most contemptuous breaches of public duty in the recent annals of the Senate.

The hearings of the La Follette committee, even though they have not been completed, already afford an insight into the existing economic situation in the country and the views and state of mind toward it of the American business leader, in his various elements, that is unparalleled in private or public form. The survey, sketchy as it has necessarily had to be because of limited funds, is nevertheless the only comprehensive study of present conditions that exists.

Four conclusions stand out from the mass of information so far obtained: (1) that absolutely no reliable and correlated statistics exist in the country today showing the extent and degree of the ravages and hardships of the depression, and that the Hoover Administration by its policy of official misrepresentation has obscured the facts; (2) that business does not believe economic depressions can be eliminated and, with isolated and powerless exceptions, is opposed to governmental effort to try to bring order out of chaos; (3) that the industrialists are gearing their future plans to the home market, while the banker has his eye on the foreign field, and that between the two groups there is a wide cleavage over

the practicability of trying even to cushion business slumps; (4) that only in the ranks of labor is there any grasp of the basic problems involved in the situation or of what measures are needed to cope with them, or any effort being made to do so on a sound basis.

Time and again, through the testimony of such witnesses as E. A. Goldenweiser, director of the division of research of the Federal Reserve Board, L. H. Sloan, vice-president of the Standard Statistics Company of New York, Professor Leo Wolman, Professor J. M. Clark, George Soule, of the *New Republic*, and Miss Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner, the committee has demonstrated the total lack of any sound statistical information about the true state of affairs. The committee has shown that in the greatest economic disaster in the history of the country, with incalculable damage to public health and well-being comparable only to that caused by a devastating enemy invasion, there not only exists no information as to the extent of the trouble, but the government in power is deliberately holding back what little data might be procured. Witness after witness, including some of the business leaders, deplored this want and urged that measures be taken to overcome it.

A few of the many facts concerning present conditions brought to light by the committee are as follows:

Since 1928 the net income of 550 leading industrial corporations has been divided by three, but their dividends have shrunk only from \$1,900,000,000 in 1929 to \$1,400,000,000 in 1931. Defaults in bonds up to last September have been about \$61,000,000, while the face value of securities in question by the end of this year will have depreciated by \$3,000,000,000. Only a quarter of these bonds are foreign; the greater proportion is in industry. [Mr. Sloan.]

Farming communities in the West, and even Western cities, are paying a substantially higher rate of interest for bank loans than are New York customers. The national income is 25 per cent less today than two years ago; production is off 50 per cent; 1,234 banks have already failed this year and 1,930 failed in 1930; farm prices have reached their lowest point in many decades; 3,300 commercial firms have failed, an all-time high. [Dr. Goldenweiser.]

In 1927 18.5 per cent of the population of the country were either at the level of bare subsistence or below it; 16.8 per cent were at the level of a minimum for health and efficiency; only 8.4 per cent were well-to-do; and only 1.7 per cent had liberal standards of living. [Mr. Soule.]

Pay rolls have fallen off an estimated 37 per cent and employment 27 per cent; hundreds of thousands of workers' homes are being broken up; abandoned tenements are in great demand with several families crowding into one apartment; and hospitals and doctors have never been more overwhelmed with work while receiving less for it. Technological improvements are permanently depriving thousands of workers of their jobs, and part-time work is as high as 53 per cent in many industries; there is no national system of employment clearance agencies by which labor can be relocated. [Miss Perkins.]

The outcry of the business leaders against government-controlled economic planning was practically unanimous. With the exception of Henry P. Kendall, president of the Kendall Company, a textile and cotton-goods manufacturer who has introduced into his extensive business the most advanced employment-continuity measures, every representative of business protested against giving the government power

to enforce stabilization and planning. The industrialists, who have direct contact with the worker, conceded the desirability of an attempt to regularize employment. Most of them, representing great corporations, have attempted by various palliatives, such as part-time work and shortened hours and weeks, to do something along this line. Heavy overturns in labor are costly. But they all vigorously objected to the idea that the government should enforce measures to insure jobs.

Voluntary action through the instrumentality of trade associations is their solution. The Swope plan or the plan of the Chamber of Commerce advisory economic council is the device they propose. Pressed by the committee as to the likelihood of success through such means, some of them had the frankness to admit that there were great obstacles. "I believe that if a couple of hundred of major units in the bituminous-coal industry could agree on a program, you could make an immense amount of progress," said George J. Anderson, president of the Consolidation Coal Company, one of the largest bituminous-coal corporations in the country, with mines in a number of States, "but I recognize that the fringe, uncontrolled and up to now uncontrollable, would in the end seriously hamper their efforts."

The bankers were cold even to the trade-association suggestion. Albert H. Wiggin, chairman of the Governing Board of the Chase National Bank, flatly declared that industrial stabilization was impossible. He was as bluntly dubious as to the possibility of gaining any worth-while knowledge for future use out of the present disaster. His whole emphasis was on international finance. In that field he was sound and hopeful, advocating the elimination of tariff barriers, the slashing of war debts and reparations, and a rapprochement between France and Germany. In industrial matters—but let the record speak for itself.

LA FOLLETTE. Then I take it that there is nothing which can be done that will be effective in saving us from these great fluctuations in business activity.

WIGGIN. I do not think so. A man lives so many years and his experience only lasts with him so many years . . .

LA FOLLETTE. Your counsel is really one of despair, then. We are to keep on, then, suffering these terrific dislocations and the suffering that goes with them on the part of the people generally.

WIGGIN. I think you are looking for a superman. There is no such thing. Human nature is human nature . . .

LA FOLLETTE. You think, then, that the capacity of human suffering is rather unlimited.

WIGGIN. I think so.

Labor's profound hopelessness under the present system was poignantly and vividly described by the several labor leaders who have so far appeared before the committee. D. B. Robertson, president of the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, left a conference of the railroad brotherhoods convened in the capital to map out a united policy on wages and employment, in order to tell the committee about the terrible hardships inflicted upon his workers by mechanical developments and the depression. In the past ten years the number of railroad workers has been reduced from 2,000,000 to 1,250,000, Robertson said. Not less than 250,000 men have lost their jobs because of technological developments.

Sidney Hillman, impartial chairman of the Amalga-

mated Garment Workers, told of the efforts to meet the many and complex problems of this highly unstable industry. More than \$6,000,000 has been paid out of joint worker-employer funds for unemployment and technological compensation in the past seven years. Last year \$1,500,000 was disbursed for these purposes. "Our experience proves conclu-

sively," he said, "that unemployment and technological insurance can be successfully administered in this country. But no one industry can cope alone with such demands. The whole country must be organized on this basis, and that can only be brought about through governmental authority and direction."

Everybody Votes for Tammany

By AMICUS MOST

TAMMANY had to be vindicated. The Seabury investigation was getting a little too hot. And what part of the city would be better for purposes of vindication than Senator Hofstadter's own section—Senator Hofstadter, the Republican chairman of the investigating committee? And what part of that section would be easier to make an impressive showing in than the Seventeenth Assembly District, whose population consists chiefly of poor and politically ignorant Porto Ricans, Virgin Islanders, and various other Spanish-speaking immigrant groups, particularly as these Porto Ricans have the "privilege" of voting just like any American-born citizen and it is almost impossible to check the validity of their claim of birthplace or the length of residence in the district?

Then came Election Day. One woman in the district in question had for years voted Republican because the district leader had promised to help her father become a citizen but had never done so. She had a weak-minded brother who had been driven into the insane asylum through the petty persecution of a graft-seeking probation officer, and she had finally come to the conclusion that the only way to eliminate all this was by a complete sweep-out of the entire system that permitted graft and corruption in government. She decided to register her protest by voting Socialist. Going to the polls early, she entered one of the voting-machine booths, installed to prevent dishonesty in voting. Although she did not ask for assistance a hanger-on entered with her and proceeded to vote the Democratic ticket for her in spite of her loud protests. When she attempted to stop him he pushed her out by force. She ran over to three policemen who were sitting close by and complained, but they simply laughed at her. The election board had also seen all this but they were unconcerned, although curiously enough they consisted of both Democrats and Republicans. The woman went out angrily and telephoned the Socialist Party headquarters.

Shortly afterwards a Socialist watcher arrived. He at once noticed that the voting machines were not placed as required by law, facing the board table, but were in a corner hidden by a large post; that there were a number of rough-looking individuals hanging about, and that with every voter an "assistant" entered the booth. He protested. Immediately he was seized by a number of men and rushed out with such force as to be thrown through the door. The police to whom he shouted for assistance turned around and ignored him. One of the men who assaulted him wore a Republican captain's badge. The Socialist watcher returned and remained as close to the polling-place as he dared, although he was continually reminded that if he valued his life it would be safer to leave.

About noon Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president of the Borough of Manhattan, Mrs. Thomas, Miss Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy, Edward Levinson, publicity agent for Mr. Thomas's campaign, two newspaper reporters, and the writer, Mr. Thomas's campaign manager, arrived at the polling-place in the course of a tour of inspection of polling-places in the borough. This group was later described at the police station by the Democratic candidate for alderman, who styled himself "alderman," as "Mr. Thomas and a bunch of gangsters." Upon entering we were at once surrounded by a very large group of plain, ordinary thugs. Almost before we could say a word the chairman of the board shouted that he wanted to have the place cleared. This seemed to be the signal to the assembled "assistants" and the police. Three of Mr. Thomas's group were assaulted and all were hustled about, pushed, and beaten. Mr. Thomas himself barely escaped assault. Two of the party who had been attacked asked the police to arrest the men who had struck them, identifying them to the police. The police promptly proceeded to arrest the complainants and hold on to them long enough to permit the offenders to escape. One of the Socialists was held by an officer and marched around the place in an attempt to get somebody to place a complaint against him. It is almost impossible to describe the atmosphere of the place, full of hoodlums, roughs, and hangers-on, with obvious connivance between the Democratic and Republican watchers and either connivance or fear from the police. As later described by the witnesses, every voter was being intimidated and forced to vote as required.

We left the place and got into Mr. Thomas's automobile. As soon as we sat down, one of the crowd slashed a tire. When we tried to hold this man, we were pushed away by his friends, who allowed him to escape. We left the car and went to the police station by taxi. Ahead of us we found the Deputy Attorney General, a Democrat appointed by a Democratic Attorney General, the aforementioned Democratic candidate for alderman, and others. Mr. Thomas, explaining what had happened, demanded that a new set of police be sent to the polling-place. The Deputy Attorney General suggested that the slashing of the tire was a "practical joke" and the "Alderman" offered Mr. Thomas his protection as if he controlled the police. The police lieutenant, upon being told by Mr. Thomas that the Democrats had a crowd of hangers-on who had done all the damage, tried to suggest that they "might be outsiders."

We returned to the polling-place and found there the police captain with a squad of policemen, including, however, the officers previously stationed there. As we made our com-

plaints to him, he and ourselves were completely surrounded by the Democratic officials and the same crowd, who continually attempted to intimidate us by asking our names and addresses, thus suggesting that there would be retaliations later. When we walked out of the building we were followed to the street by a man who later claimed that he was a Republican watcher, who said in a very loud voice: "You lice, you robbers of the poor—ever since we drove the Socialists out of this section six years ago we have had peace, now you have again come to make trouble."

A few days later two of us went to the Republican district leader, who was described to us as extremely wrought up over the fact that the Republicans had made such a poor showing in the district. He told us that he knew definitely of dozens of cases of Republicans whose votes had been taken from them and that he knew of one woman on his board who had burst into tears when she had seen him because of her inability to prevent illegalities at the polls. He admitted to

us, however, that when he had been present after our departure he had appealed to our watchers rather than to his own. We asked him if he was prepared to make a statement and to get affidavits from those Republicans who had claimed that their votes had been stolen. He carefully explained that that was impossible because if he did such a thing the lives of these persons would be in danger and his clubhouse might be blown up.

When the voting machine was opened on the evening of Election Day, the results were as follows: Levy, Democratic candidate for borough president, 850 votes; Carrington, Republican candidate, 8 votes; Thomas, Socialist candidate, 0 votes. This in a district where there were seven registered Socialists, where two years ago when Norman Thomas ran for mayor he received fifty-one votes, and where a number of years before a Socialist had been elected to the Assembly six successive times.

Thus is democracy served.

If I Were Dictator*

By G. LOWES DICKINSON

THE editor has invited me to say what I would do if I were dictator; but my modesty compels me to dismiss this flattering idea. Instead, I propose to make a point that is as plainly true as it is commonly ignored. The present political and industrial system, I shall argue, is breaking down before our eyes, and either we shall lapse into ruin or we shall develop a world government.

By the present system I mean briefly two things—nationalism and capitalism. These together produced the great war and the peace which, unless we mend our ways, is but an introduction to another world war.

We have, indeed, the League of Nations, and that is the rudiment of a possible new order, but it is thwarted and throttled at every point by nationalism and capitalism; with the result that up to the date of this writing it has been unable to do anything effective in the matter of armaments, tariffs, currency, raw materials, unemployment, overproduction, or underconsumption. The old order is bankrupt, and the new has hardly begun to emerge. What would that new be? At this stage I can but hold it up, in its general lines, as a pattern. But unless we begin to look up at such a pattern, we shall continue to stumble along the old paths till we plunge over the precipice. What, then, I ask, would the world look like under a world government?

First and before all, war would have been abolished. Until that is done everything else is idle. For if every fifty years or so the world is to be plunged back into the conditions of 1914 to 1931, or rather into much worse conditions—for the next war will employ all the latest instruments of destruction which all nations, after forswearing war, are elaborately devising—it is idle to talk of any reconstruction. We should be merely piling up the pyre on which our civilization was to consume itself. We must disarm, and completely. For while we are armed the armaments themselves drive us into war. Soldiers and sailors and airmen are re-

luctant to admit this, for without war their occupation would be gone. It is, however, true, and palpably true, as many plain men and women are coming to see. Thus the whole future of the world may depend on whether or not the disarmament conference next year produces any result.

Complete disarmament would mean that national forces were reduced to a mere police. Once that were done it would be possible to have an international air force to suppress anywhere and at once any attempt at rebellion against the world order. The world without war would be a world where all disputes would be settled by arbitration or judicial process, and where the defeated party would no more attempt to get its way by force than it does within the limits of any civilized state.

The abolition of war would thus end nationalism, in the sense in which nationalism is a menace; but we should still have to deal with capitalism. What does capitalism mean?

It means, first, government by the rich in the interests of the rich and its sign and mark is that the rich mainly provide and solely direct the capital. In doing this their only purpose is the making of profits. For though accessory contributions to the public good may occur in consequence of their activities, they occur without their knowledge or care. Under this system, which excited the enthusiasm of the earlier economists, the wealth of the world increased by leaps and bounds, and possibly, though not certainly, the wealth of the masses may have been greater than at most times in the past. But the series of strikes, lock-outs, and civil tumults which have been continuous over the past hundred years show that capitalism, when it was most successful and active, though it had created it, could not solve the social problem; and now it is palpable that it has failed all along the line. The enormous natural resources of the United States, a constant influx of the most active elements from Europe, and other advantages of a temporary character have obscured there more than anywhere else this essential fact. But suddenly the eyes even of Americans have been opened, for thou-

* The second of a series of articles on this subject. Others by Glenn Frank, H. L. Mencken, Harold J. Laski, William Allen White, and Lewis Mumford will appear in successive issues.—EDITOR THE NATION.

sands are standing in queues demanding bread. America is feeling the universal break-down of capitalism. It cannot any longer have the illusion of an independent and self-sufficient life. By its insistence on the payment of war debts it is helping to ruin Europe; but also, by reason of its enormous production, it more and more needs European markets. It wants to sell and Europe cannot buy. Hence these tears! Overproduction and underconsumption are destroying capitalism. We will not now dwell on the paradox that while in China people are starving by millions, wheat is rotting in the United States, though that is one of the most striking facts with which we are confronted. But, apart from that, in all the most highly capitalized countries millions are out of work, supported by doles, and on the verge or in the act of starvation. Capital dangles goods before them in vain, for they cannot afford to pay for them. The first thing a world order would do would be to adjust production to consumption; and nothing but a world order could do it.

That it would do it is clear, or will shortly be clear, from the example of Soviet Russia. There and there only an effort is being made to substitute order for chaos; and when one considers under what difficulties the experiment is being made, how Russia started only a few years ago to convert a primitive population of peasants into an industrial nation, how capital has to be raised somehow on the spot because the capitalistic nations will not lend, candid observers can but be astounded by the results already achieved. The nations of the West, after denying the facts for years, begin now to admit them. The Russian experiment is the first ever made on a large scale to plan production according to need instead of leaving it to chance. But such an experiment made in just one country can only embarrass the others, as is shown by the hatred of Russian goods displayed by Western states. The planning must be world-wide. Otherwise we shall find nations going once more to war in the desperate attempt to secure markets. Capitalism must either transform or devour itself.

A world order which should adapt production to consumption would have no use for tariffs. These, in fact, are but the desperate efforts of states, first, to make themselves as far as they can self-supporting for the next war—a purpose which only the United States and Russia could approximately achieve—and, second, to benefit one part of their population at the cost of another. Tariffs thus involve a kind of civil war, for, however they may be manipulated, some parts of the population must lose while others gain. But, also, they are one of the causes of international war. This will be clear to anyone who has studied in detail the origins of the late war. But I will illustrate it by an example more recent, and more significant for us now. There is a party in England that would like to put a ring fence round the British Empire in order to reserve for members of that Empire the advantages of British trade. Would that be a matter of indifference to other states? Hardly, when a fifth of the surface of the world is involved. Yet a British statesman who believes himself to be genuinely pacific has repudiated indignantly the notion that foreigners would dare to object. The British nation, he said, in such a case would rise in its majesty and wrath and—there would be another “just” war! Let us take another example, that of raw materials, and the exploitation in the interest of some single state of the resources of undeveloped countries. Every stu-

dent of recent history is aware that this has been a main motive of the division of the world among the European Powers, and of the wars that have arisen out of that. Capitalism thus means war as, and because, it means anarchy. That is written over all its history. And a world order would have as its first and most urgent task to control the raw materials of the world, and to provide for a peaceable and equitable distribution of them.

A world order, then, you may say, would be a Utopia. I do not know. But I am sure that without it civilization will collapse, and I would ask the reader to interpret in this sense the signs of the times, remembering that the question before us is not whether capitalism can endure—it is already judged and condemned—but what the alternatives are to be.

The answer can only be tentative; but two great signals stare us in the face. The first is the League of Nations and the second Soviet Russia. The League, it is true, is but an embryo and one which may never survive to maturity, but it is the one and only thing in the international order which stands for the new ideal. The absence from it of the United States, however comprehensible, is none the less from the world point of view a terrible danger. That signal is red. But the danger is diminished by American cooperation in disarmament, in economic discussions, and in other activities of the League; and through these perhaps, before too long, America may come to take its proper place at the head of the movement toward world order. The other signal, that of Soviet Russia, is at once green and red—red as seen by the outside world, which has flouted and bullied it with all the zeal of fanaticism and hatred, but seen from the side of Russia itself, green with the color of hope. Now, nowhere outside Russia is such a determination to recast society to be found; and nothing but such recasting will serve our new needs. It is time we ceased being shocked at Russia and began to move along the same path, only by the ways of peace instead of violence.

Besides these two great signal lights there are others, over a great part of Europe, whose meaning is obscure. They are those of the numerous dictatorships. What these really mean, whether they mean anything except passing will-o'-the-wisps, it is hard at present to say; but if they are to have any real and lasting significance it will be because and so far as they inaugurate the birth of a pacific world order.

Lastly, there are the countries which are still attempting to govern themselves by public opinion. Of these, the little ones—Scandinavia, Holland, and Switzerland—though they are the most civilized, are also the least able to determine the future of the world. For they have the unpardonable vice of being weak. Of France and Germany I will not speak. Perhaps before this article is in print we may know whether France intends to drive Germany into anarchy, and on that may depend the salvation of Europe. But England and America stand on a plane of their own. If they can cooperate, if they can so use their popular institutions that capital itself will cooperate in its own transformation, and if meantime they can maintain the peace of the world, they may inaugurate the new order before its collapse into chaos. But they cannot do this unless they see and understand, and that not slowly but quickly, how surely the old order is bankrupt, and what the new order must be. Is there time? Is there ability? These are the questions put to us by the sphinx of history, and I dare not pretend to answer them.

What Is the Navy League?

By BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS

THE Navy League, in accusing the President of the United States of "abysmal ignorance," committed a serious tactical blunder. While making charges of this nature, the league itself was in a most precarious position. Its statements have been of a highly controversial character. They have not been carefully edited for the purpose of eliminating erroneous and questionable material. Consequently the literature of the league is not only filled with unsound conclusions, but it also contains mistakes of the most elementary sort regarding armament and disarmament. Furthermore, the league has had trouble in the past and was once denounced by a Secretary of the Navy as a public enemy.

A league of this sort has, in the chief maritime countries, seemed to be an inevitable hang-over from the days of armed commerce. In Germany before the war the Navy League numbered on its rolls some 900,000 members and, with a yearly budget of a million marks, actively circulated the doctrine that German commerce required rapid naval expansion. Great Britain has her Navy League, which has opposed parity with the United States. The appeal which it makes to the nationalism and conservatism of the Englishman is summarized by the query: "Nelson gave us the command of the seas over a century ago. Are we going to keep it?" A more dangerous attitude is found in the patriotic societies of Japan, which give a present-day application to the doctrines of the Samurai. The assassination of Prime Minister Hamaguchi for his support of the London naval treaty indicates the point to which the opponents of disarmament in that country may go.

Comparing the American league with these institutions, our own product is small in size and weak in influence. The principal effort of the organization has been to urge the needs of a large navy and to complain of the civilian influence in determining the size of American armaments. During the Administration of Woodrow Wilson the league precipitated a bitter controversy when it declared that "powerful labor interests" had brought pressure to bear upon the government to cover up a plot to destroy a powder magazine at the Mare Island Navy Yard. The accusation so aroused the ire of Josephus Daniels that he forbade the presence of officers or agents of the league on naval vessels or naval reservations. He termed the league "as much an enemy of the country as any anarchist." The fluent Secretary of the Navy further declared that he would not let the organization take part in naval activities until it should be "dead, damned, and resuscitated" and that "we do not want any sideshows that stab us in the back."

Some 4,000 names appear upon the membership lists of the league and the annual budget is in the neighborhood of \$30,000. Most of the members, of course, have little idea of the activities of the organization. Probably many of them suffer acute embarrassment when they see in cold print the accusations made by their officials. The executive committee includes some names of prominence: Walter Bruce Howe, T. Douglas Robinson, Ogden Reid, Henry Cabot Lodge,

N. M. Hubbard, Jr., James W. Wadsworth, Arthur Curtiss James, Nelson Macy, and Henry Breckinridge. The latter, however, dissented when the league attacked Mr. Hoover.

William H. Gardiner, the president of the league, has appeared in recent years to be the main part of the organization so far as the expression of opinion is concerned. He is a retired engineer-capitalist who has for some years been dipping into naval matters and expounding through league statements and magazine articles a sort of sea-power theory of history. He claims to be the author of the view that "North America, particularly the United States, has ceased being virtually self-sufficient and is taking on the character and outlook of a great island centrally placed in the oceanic world." The creator of this doctrine contends that this island position calls for a powerful navy, which is not to defend the United States against attack but to go cruising across the oceans and to swing the muzzles of huge guns before the people who furnish us with raw materials. The Navy League, Mr. Gardiner affirms, specializes in accurate information.

The ideas of Gardiner and of most of those who advocate great naval power come from the brilliant writings of Admiral Mahan. Mahan was a master of the facts of naval warfare as it existed from the seventeenth century to the time of the World War. From the data of this period he concluded that sea power is necessary to national prosperity and greatness. There is much evidence in the conditions of past centuries to sustain the theory. Piracy, closed seas, the practice of commerce raiding, even in times of peace, and the conflicting efforts of the maritime nations to profit from the cheapness of improved sea transportation, particularly by trading forcibly with the backward peoples in Asia and America, led to the development of armed sea power. Those countries which could best control the sea routes profited from the commercial revolution in somewhat the same way as communities located at suitable factory sites have more recently prospered from the industrial revolution. Since the World War the doctrine has become a cast-off of historiography. The close integration of the world through commerce, communication, and a sensitive world-credit system has bound the interests of each important country with those of the family of nations and has made it disastrous to seek commercial expansion by force. Great Britain, with an enormous naval preponderance during the World War, found that the conflict brought destruction to her markets, industries, and financial power. Germany, which in 1913 was rising to the first rank in world business affairs, sought to promote her trade interests by building a huge navy. The German economic success had been due principally to the genius of her scientists and commercial leaders, the efficiency of German labor, and the wealth of German resources. When, persuaded by the German Navy League, the government turned to building warships, however, it alarmed England and helped to precipitate a conflict which destroyed German commerce, shipping, and finance. At the same time the United States forged to the front as the leading economic

power in the world; and it is typical of the new international regime that this country in its rapid advance did not rely on the aid of sea power. In fact, during the time when the United States was leaping to the forefront the navy men in this country were deploring the weakness of our military and diplomatic policies. For these reasons the doctrine of the dependence of commercial and governmental policies upon a powerful navy has lost its meaning.

The Navy League has, however, continued the fight for the old-fashioned naval methods of protecting and expanding our trade. It has been a consistent opponent of the disarmament movement. When the London treaty was placed before the Senate the first demand of the league was that the consideration of the subject should be postponed until the following session, in the hope, no doubt, that the treaty would then be set aside for questions of domestic importance. When, however, the matter came before the special session of Congress in the summer of 1930, the league issued a statement opposing the treaty. The league has continually demanded larger appropriations for naval construction. The Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover Administrations and Congresses, according to the league view, have disbursed less than a quarter of what has been required for the "replacement upkeep" of the navy; and in spite of the fact that we have spent more for the army and navy than any other Power, our government has skimmed the navy by \$80,000,000 per year. Recently the league has been striving to create such a demand for larger appropriations as will block any agreement by the United States to the principle of budgetary limitation at the Geneva disarmament conference. It has also stressed the value of large war vessels, attempting thereby to make impossible an agreement on the reduction in size of capital ships. The league has assailed the plan for a one-year armament holiday to which the American government has adhered.

Mr. Gardiner evidently considers that those who have up-to-date opinions regarding international peace and therefore cannot concur in the big-navy view are simply ignorant. Here we are strongly reminded of our old friend, William B. Shearer, who looked upon himself as the best-informed man in the country on naval affairs. These two, Gardiner and Shearer, have dabbled in naval history sufficiently to acquire a terminology which is unfamiliar to the general mass of people. For some reason the ability to handle esoteric terms appears to the public as evidence of superior wisdom. The imposture is harmless enough when the one who benefits from it has sufficient sense of humor to appreciate the joke. The tragedy arises when the beneficiary takes the matter seriously and actually believes that he has suddenly developed omniscience upon the subject.

In an article written in 1926, in which he *referred* disparagingly to the lack of knowledge among public officials, Mr. Gardiner suggested that they should study the naval question and inform themselves of the definite prospect that Japan and Great Britain would support each other in a movement to abolish the submarine. Now it is fundamental that the Japanese have consistently fought for the retention of the submarine from the Washington conference to the present time. They have had no intention of conspiring to abolish this highly prized weapon of their defense. An error of this sort upon an elementary point occurring in the midst of condemnation of the ignorance of others puts Mr. Gardi-

ner in the position of a blind passenger vociferously shouting condemnatory remarks at the ship's pilot.

One of the most bitter statements which the league has issued was that of October 11 condemning the proposal of the League of Nations for a one-year armament holiday. The Navy League statement read: "It would seem inconceivable, therefore, that any American official working in the interests of the United States would countenance committing the United States to such an inequitable and disadvantageous holiday." At that time it was known that the Administration at Washington was likely to approve the holiday plan, and the denunciation, with all its implications of disloyalty to American interests, was leveled straight at President Hoover. But the Navy League did not even know what the plan was. The statement compared the tonnage of various nations in figures of ships already built in a way which showed a belief on the part of league officials that during the holiday such figures would represent the sole naval strength of the Powers and that tonnage under construction would be stopped. The text of the proposal had, however, already been published in the United States, showing a contrary intention. It definitely states that the holiday is to affect ships not already on the stocks "provided always that vessels under construction might be continued and completed." Thus the league, without understanding the published terms of the holiday plan, plunged into an abusive attack upon Mr. Hoover for his expected adhesion.

Mr. Gardiner's statement of October 28 is probably the best-known of the league's publicity efforts. The document dramatically charged President Hoover with ignorance and thereby secured the public attention which Mr. Gardiner was evidently seeking. The investigation of the statement and the exposure of its errors which have followed have been swift, though it must be pointed out that the inquiry committee was naturally expected, from its composition, to be friendly to the President. Some of the mistakes in the league statement are so gross that they need only to be called to the public attention to be clearly recognized. Thus the declaration that the United States had secured with Japan an over-all ratio in auxiliaries of 10:6 at the Washington conference appears manifestly incorrect when it is pointed out that the Washington treaty omitted any consideration of vessels other than capital ships and aircraft carriers. The assertion that the Administration refused to allow the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to see the full record of its negotiations prior to the London conference will be recognized as false by those who remember the continued offer of the President to allow any Senator to examine the record in confidence. The committee of inquiry took Mr. Gardiner to task for publishing tables of figures "known by him to be obsolete at the time the statement was issued," and declared in general that "Mr. Gardiner's statement contains many inaccuracies, false assertions, and erroneous conclusions."

There is no intention here to charge the president of the Navy League with deliberate misstatement. But in the naval controversy he and his friends are fanatical advocates of a defunct theory. Like other extreme controversialists, they have their blind spots. They minimize or neglect facts which seem important to others. And they are prone to over-emphasize and at times to exaggerate whatever material is useful in supporting their thesis.

Russia and the World Crisis

By LOUIS FISCHER

Moscow, October 18

THE Soviet frontier is like a charmed circle which the world economic crisis cannot cross. While banks crash, while production falls and trade languishes abroad, the Soviet Union continues in an orgy of construction and national development. The scale and speed of its progress are unprecedented. They have converted many disgruntled Muscovites from opponents of the Five-Year Plan to enthusiastic supporters.

The Bolsheviks are confident that this advance cannot be interrupted. They are therefore drafting the second Five-Year Plan. Its details will be worked out by experts, factory directors, and workers, but its broad outlines are now being discussed by the highest authorities of the land. At a very recent counsel at which Stalin presided the question of future pig-iron output arose for debate. Pig iron is the foundation of all heavy industry, and determines the volume of steel, iron, coke, coal, and machine production. It is, in a large sense, the coefficient of heavy industrial progress. Russia yielded 4,000,000 tons of pig iron in 1913, 5,000,000 tons in 1929-30, and will, according to plan, have manufactured 17,000,000 tons in 1932. Three giant foundries now nearing completion at Magnitogorsk in the Urals, at Kuznetsk in Siberia, and at Zaporozhie in the Ukraine will produce more than all of Czarist Russia. Pig-iron growth during the first Five-Year Plan is phenomenal.

The State Planning Commission originally suggested raising pig-iron output to 56,000,000 tons by 1937. At the recent party meeting a representative of the State Planning Commission was prepared to reduce this figure to 40,000,000 tons. Whereupon Stalin interrupted and urged that it be placed at 25,000,000 tons. This Stalin proposal means that heavy industry—steel, metals, coal, and so on—will be retarded so that light industry, which supplies clothing, food, homes, and luxuries to the population, can be stimulated. The foundation having been laid during the first Five-Year Plan, more attention can be paid to the superstructure in the second. Stalin said that the second *Piatiletka* will serve to clothe and feed the Soviet masses. Their desire for a higher standard of living will be satisfied.

Thus, when the rest of the world will either be in a state of crisis, or at best healing the wounds of the crisis, the U. S. S. R. promises to enter a period of prosperity. In 1932-37, while the Russian workers are reaping the fruits of their present sacrifices, the workers in other countries will be making continued sacrifices in order to save capitalism for the capitalists. This contrast may have far-reaching social concomitants. It is the chief international significance of the second Five-Year Plan.

The dominant principle of the second *Piatiletka* is the gratification of the daily consumption requirements of the country. With the exception of grain, therefore, little if any food will be exported. The production of textiles, shoes, dwellings, intra-city transportation facilities, paper, kitchen utensils, clothing, small mechanical appliances, cultural necessities, electrical supplies will increase many times. The first

Five-Year Plan is creating the machines and factories which will manufacture these goods. Almost all the raw materials are available within Russia. Soviet imports, as well as exports, will consequently drop during the second Five-Year Plan. Certainly the U. S. S. R.'s foreign trade will lag far behind the growth of national industry.

The Soviet Union accordingly tends to become more self-sufficient and less dependent on outside assistance. This is largely the result of the foreign situation, although it dovetails with Communist desires. For although the world economic crisis does not spread to Russia, the U. S. S. R. nevertheless feels its effects. Whether in consequence of the stringency of credits or because of the stupidity and fear engendered by the financial depression, Moscow is receiving fewer and worse foreign credits. The Russians must face the fact that their help from capitalist sources may fall to a minimum. The United States is turning away from Soviet business. When the Amtorg, for instance, lately offered to buy 25,000 to 250,000 bales of the Farm Board's cotton which may never find a market and may be burned or sunk in the ocean, Carl Williams, speaking for the board, said: "Why should we grant credits to a nation which we do not recognize?" England, whose greatest difficulty is a shrinkage of exports, shows signs under Tory guidance of permitting party interests to interfere with Soviet business. France is trying to obstruct German credit operations with Moscow, but she has not yet decided to finance Soviet commerce herself.

Last summer, when political and economic negotiations were suddenly resumed between Paris and Moscow, the Bolsheviks were sanguine about huge French credits. I think they are more sober today, and while, to be sure, the situation both with respect to France and other countries may change, the high officials who are drafting the second Five-Year Plan proceed on the assumption of reduced foreign trade and of reduced foreign credits.

It is this accumulation of circumstances and not only the Bolshevik wish to make life pleasanter for the Soviet citizenry that has convinced Stalin of the advisability of forcing the tempo of light-industry production. For while the development of heavy industry is dependent on imports of complicated machinery, Russia already has the means of increasing the volume of consumption goods. Taken as a whole, therefore, industrial output in Russia will mount very rapidly during the next quinquennium. But the emphasis will be put on articles of everyday use.

Some time ago I asked a prominent Bolshevik how he would solve the American economic crisis if he were appointed economic dictator of the United States. He said immediately that he would foster trade with Russia. He would do it, he said, in the best interests of capitalist America. For if Russia receives little or no foreign financial support, it will have to concentrate on light industry, without, however, neglecting heavy industry. But if it had the money, it would enjoy a boom in both fields. The riches of the U. S. S. R. are unlimited, its potentiality of growth is fabulous, and as a market it is well-nigh inexhaustible. Untold mineral and

power resources are still untouched. It may sound exaggerated, and at the moment, of course, it is altogether unrealistic, yet the exploitation of the wealth of the vast continent which the U. S. S. R. comprises could very likely lift the entire capitalist West out of the slough of despond in which it is floundering today. Perhaps the capitalist world has no interest in building up Soviet Russia. Neither is Soviet Russia consumed by any desire to save capitalism from shipwreck. Nevertheless, Moscow would gladly accept co-operation from capitalism even though it would thereby grant capitalism another breathing space, and if the world's bourgeoisie were not intellectually bankrupt, it too would seek relief by injecting strength into what it fears may be its ultimate conqueror. There is of course a double paradox in this situation, but that does not change the facts. The future may have in store a prolonged armed economic truce between the capitalist and Communist worlds during which each will seek to exploit the existence of the other.

If the Russia of today suddenly turned private-capitalistic but continued its present rapid economic advance, every industrialist, banker, and exporter of the world would certainly have representatives on Moscow's doorstep. It is the height of folly to boycott a huge market, and a safe market in a country which has already had its revolution, at a time when millions of persons go hungry and billions of money are being lost for lack of markets. But this is the situation which Russia faces, and her leaders are patterning their plans accordingly.

The decision of Stalin to stress the population's everyday needs during the second Five-Year Plan seems like an admission of the wisdom of the now-suppressed right opposition led by Rykov, Bukharin, and Tomsy. Rumor has it, indeed, that Rykov may soon resign his position as Commissar of Posts and Telegraphs in order to be advanced to the Supreme Economic Council, where he will take charge of light industry. The right wing always demanded that more attention be paid to light and less to heavy industry. Rykov's promotion may therefore be regarded as the vindication of the opposition's program. But in fact it documents the greatness of Stalin, which even his worst former enemies now admit. For if Rykov's platform had been adopted in 1928, Magnitogorsk, Kuznetzstroi, and other industrial giants would not now be built. Nor would the Stalingrad and Kharkov tractor factories be producing machines. Nor would collectivization on a large scale have been carried out. And without these measures the stimulation of light industry would today be impossible. Moreover, it is obvious now that the U. S. S. R. stole the last three years from history, so to speak. The Five-Year Plan could not be started now. The international economic crisis and the anti-Soviet financial boycott would make it impossible. Stalin took advantage of a temporary situation between 1928 and 1931 to build the foundation of a new industrial Russia. The task is far from complete. But enough has already been accomplished to permit of further domestic progress despite limited outside assistance.

At present Stalin, having destroyed the right opposition and then assigned its members to minor posts, can magnanimously reinstate them into power. Events have justified him. He now does what Rykov and Bukharin advocated in 1929. But it was wrong then and is proper and inevitable today.

The supply of consumption goods has grown rapidly

during the last six months, and the Bolsheviks, in consequence, have been able to avoid further currency inflation. A walk through Moscow streets would convince even the skeptic that living conditions have improved and that store stocks have been replenished. The situation is very far from satisfactory, but the fact of progress and the now universal confidence in the success of the Five-Year Plan generate a healthy atmosphere of enthusiasm and dispel many earlier doubts. Time after time acquaintances who half a year ago rained abuse upon Bolshevik heads come in now and confess that recent achievements have won them over.

The Soviet output of cotton goods, woollens, knit goods, and leather and rubber products rose about 30 per cent during the last year, and continues to rise month by month. These commodities are immediately gobbled up at any price and leave the hungry domestic market unsatisfied. But it is obvious to all citizens that the increase in light-industry production is the natural result of the large-scale construction of iron and steel mills and machine foundries and of the agrarian socialization provided for by the first Five-Year Plan. This immediate dividend inspires faith that the second Five-Year Plan will yield even greater practical benefits, particularly since the Communists now make that their specific goal.

In the Driftway

"IT has become a hallowed tradition," writes Mr. Hoover in his recent proclamation, "for the Chief Magistrate to proclaim annually a national Day of Thanksgiving." Now the Drifter, as his friends must be aware, is usually suspicious a priori of all traditions, hallowed or otherwise. After a careful reading of the President's latest Thanksgiving Day observation, the Drifter feels it his sad duty to report certain misgivings about this one. With the third winter of widespread unemployment nearly upon us, in all its ugliness, want, and distress, Thanksgiving Day has not, for him at least, a genuine ring. Somehow it sounds ill-suited to the times. The President's counsel that "our people rest from their daily labors" brings to the Drifter's mind some ten million jobless to whom that advice will seem more than slightly ironical. And he wonders how many of that army stopped work on Thanksgiving Day in 1929, not realizing that they would still be resting two years later. Will they be duly appreciative, as the President is, that "the passing adversity which has come upon us" is a "spiritual" blessing?

* * * * *

A LARGE part of our people, the Drifter suspects, will be equally dubious of the wisdom of the following:

Our country has cause for gratitude to the Almighty.

We have been widely blessed with abundant harvests . . .

Our institutions have served the people. Knowledge has multiplied and our lives are enriched with its application.

In the time of our forefathers this would have made sense. Bountiful crops were just cause in earlier times for gratitude and hearty thanks. For they meant the assurance of food and security through the long winter. But under our topsy-turvy economics abundant harvests assure us nothing.

They are a dubious blessing indeed when rich surpluses leave the farmer poor and the destitute hungry. It were better had the harvest been lean. The well-stocked storehouses would not then present a tantalizing mockery of the knowledge that has multiplied.

* * * * *

WHAT the Drifter is working toward is the suspicion that our highly mechanized society has to a large degree outgrown the Thanksgiving Day custom. Abundance today is not the blessing of plenty. Even the farmer—forced to specialize in one crop—sees wheat piled high on his land and lacks necessary food. The Drifter hastens to add, however, that he does not mean that we should abolish the holiday. He is in favor of all holidays, the more the better, and his vote is for this one. But he believes that it should have a more realistic purpose. As a beginning he offers a new name for it—Fact-facing Day. To be sure, it is not quite so optimistic as Thanksgiving Day, but it might prove more fruitful. Instead of offering spiritual consolation to the needy and expressing pious hopes that by another year the Almighty might have matters adjusted to normal, the nation would unite in facing the facts of our adversity. The Drifter believes this might lead to action which would make abundant harvests mean abundance for all. And should that happen, you would see an ardent campaign to change the name of Fact-facing Day back to Thanksgiving Day.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Defense of the Spirit

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I have space for a few words prompted by Benjamin Ginzburg's article, *Religion and the Lost Leadership*, in your issue of October 21? It was so good that one felt it ought to be better.

Much of the \$817,000,000 a year spent on religious worship in this country may be wasted for all it contributes to intelligent thought of God. For thinking people what is heard in many of our churches may help atheism almost as much as a vital theism. But there is more to be said. Not all church people fall into this thinking class. More than that—and much more!—what religion does is not entirely dependent on the correctness of its ideas. Even if the idea of God promoted in the churches is antiquated—for that no defense is offered—there is much reason to believe that other and higher values, even a "social vision in these disordered times," are generated and conserved.

To say that the church is negligible as a factor in the fight for social justice or that its influence is used too timidly to make it a real force for a better order is entirely intelligible. But to say that "the connection between religion and social justice is today as extrinsic as . . . the connection between religion and physical gymnasiums" is seemingly to deny or ignore the facts. Mr. Ginzburg ought to know his prophets better. With them and not with the apocalypticist, at least in the social aspects of his work, Jesus stood in direct historic succession. And so, it may be held, stand all those today, whether avowedly or not, who advocate and work for Christian social ideals. And that even though the concrete "proposals" made by them are drawn from "secular economists and reformers"! The spirit

that moves them, whether secular or religious, frequently arises from religious sources, and in so far as it does, its result must be regarded not as a "sideshow" of religion, but as an expression of the "religious spirit."

Meadville, Pa., October 20

IRWIN ROSS BEILER

The Trouble with the Doctors

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Anent the editorial *The Doctors Look at Medicine*, in your issue of November 4, the trouble is that those doctors who speak are really not the ones who are looking. Most certainly doctors who charge \$10 a visit for each of two children, or \$50 for a consultation, or who have doorkeepers, nurses, and secretaries are not in a position to see clearly the medical needs of the largest part of our population, consisting of poor people who have probably never heard of these doctors. The doctors competent to speak on the cost of medical treatment and its real value are those who practice medicine among the working class. These people can receive medical care in their homes at a cost of about \$2 per visit. Unfortunately, the cost is not what is wrong with medicine.

The great trouble with medical practice is its terrible incompetence. It is absolutely impossible to give the great mass of ailing people the benefits of modern medicine under our prevailing system. A typical case is a man of forty-five who complains of gastric symptoms which office visits over two weeks fail to relieve. This man should have a thorough examination of his gastric tract—X-ray, test meal, etc.; and does he get it? He cannot afford the fee of the private Röntgen examination. He cannot lose the time necessary to lie in the ward of a hospital under observation for a week, and anyhow he could not pay for it. He cannot wait for long hours in a free clinic.

The solution for the countless cases of this type is in some form of state medicine. I have read again and again the cry of the medical profession against "state medicine," but it has always been the men in the foremost rank who have been doing the crying—men who do not come in contact with the difficulties of the working and lower-middle classes, men who belong, as in your article, to the \$10 and \$50 class, where state medicine has no place.

Philadelphia, November 4

W. STEINBERG, M.D.

After the British Election

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is literally true that nobody foresaw the amazing massacre of Labor at the polls. Nor can anybody give a really convincing psychoanalysis. As the election drew near, everyone believed that the National Government would be returned with a working majority—but nothing more. It was, I suppose, in the main a triumph of propaganda and skilful phrasing. The word "national" with its imprudent claim "Vote for your country" no doubt counted heavily among a people the vast majority of whom did not know why "the nation was in danger," or what the danger was, or who put it there. Decorated by the best-known heads of all three parties (with the exception of Lloyd George) the appeal stampeded alike the ignorant and the timid, who believed the impudent falsehoods about the "crash of the pound" and the loss of all their savings to which Snowden and others resorted at the last moment to cover any fear which protection might otherwise have caused. From the Tory standpoint the election was engineered to get a tariff, though today not a single Tory newspaper except the *Express* mentions the

tariff. The Tories are solid for protection, they mean to have it, and deserve to put it through. Not immediately, of course, possibly not until next April's budget. The pound must first be stabilized and the people's mind (if mind it can be called) must be allowed to settle down to the interest which normally outweighs all other interests, namely, sport. But the protectionists cannot wait long. Even if some little recovery of trade and employment takes place, they will use that as evidence of the general revival of political confidence. They generally believe in a tariff, and MacDonald, Snowden, and their little gang will have to take their medicine or get out. The Liberals are mainly responsible for this situation. By pretending to distinguish an "emergency" or "temporary" tariff from a permanent one and pledging themselves to "consideration" of a remedy they knew was bad, they threw some five millions of votes into the National pot. Why? Partly to obtain places in the government, but chiefly because they feared, not the Labor Government's "inflation," but more taxation, which the financial situation really needs.

The last Labor Government was of course extremely lax in its finances, and large savings were impossible. But the man actually responsible for this bad finance was Snowden, the bankers' friend, the man who had the effrontery to denounce the program which earlier he had helped to formulate as "bolshevism gone mad." As for the British press, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman* alone have helped to preserve liberal traditions. The *News-Chronicle* has been contemptible. There is speculation as to the possibility of Lloyd George reconstructing and "leading" a Labor Party!

The result of the election brings despair of any real democracy. A people that can be tricked over and over again, in 1914, 1918, and 1931, by similar devices commands no respect and cannot "govern." But the position of Ramsay MacDonald, Sir Herbert Samuel, and J. H. Thomas in the hands of a vast Tory House of Commons, bent upon reaction not only in finance but in constitutional and imperial affairs is an interesting spectacle. There are here no signs of trade recovery except the little filip which the degraded pound has given to some export trades. The state of Germany is deplorable, and France, having apparently squared Hoover, will do nothing to help, either financially or otherwise.

London, October 29

J.

Contributors to This Issue

ROBERT S. ALLEN is a member of the Washington staff of the International News Service.

AMICUS MOST was campaign manager for Norman Thomas.

G. LOWES DICKINSON is the author of "A Modern Symposium," "The Greek View of Life," and "After 2,000 Years."

BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS is professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh.

LOUIS FISCHER, Moscow correspondent of *The Nation*, is the author of "Why Recognize Russia?"

LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS contributes verse to various periodicals.

GERALD SYKES is a writer of fiction.

HORACE GREGORY has recently published a translation of Catullus.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES is an English writer now living in the United States.

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation*.

Finance

Why Silver Forecasts Recovery

SELLING at approximately 37 cents an ounce, silver recently stood in a ratio of about 56 to 1 to gold—still a long way from the sacred 16 to 1 about which a political battle raged thirty-five years ago, but a decidedly better ratio than that which existed last February, when the price of silver was not much above 25 cents an ounce. The metal is up 11 cents an ounce from its low point, and the rise is being hailed as an additional evidence of improving business conditions, for silver traditionally is one of the first commodities to advance when a depression has run its course.

Just why this is so is extremely obscure. Commodity prices rise in the wake of a great slump because people have economized so long and so hard, and producers have cut their output so low, that the compulsory revival of demand makes itself felt on a reduced supply. Silver, however, ranks far down on the list of items which Western peoples feel an overwhelming urge to purchase, after long abstinence. Nor is the actual or prospective reduction of new supplies, while it is substantial, such as to threaten a shortage for habitual users in the arts or for government mints. In 1930 various governments dumped about 71,500,000 ounces on the market, from demonetized and debased coinage, and there has been no clear indication that this selling has permanently come to an end.

It may be suspected that silver owes its quality as business forecaster, such as it is, to the combined function of the metal as both money and commodity among Oriental peoples. Gold has "appreciated" in terms of commodities to an enormous extent in the last two years; why should not silver, the money of the Eastern nations, at last break away from the depression influences which assail it as a commodity and assert its higher value as a money in terms of commodities?

This is merely another way of saying, of course, that India and China, in spite of grinding poverty and low standards of living, may succeed at some stage in putting their economic house in order, to the extent of being able to produce a surplus of exports which can be converted into the metal they value so highly. This, obviously, has not yet occurred in any sense recognizable to Western eyes, but the speculators of Shanghai and Bombay, among the shrewdest in the world, do not wait for the event. They forestall it, and cash in when the up-country takings justify their judgment.

It is a curious commentary on our highly organized business structure that the first stirrings of recovery from a slump should occur in the primitive economic organization of the Orient. Low-priced silver has operated in the East precisely as a depreciated exchange—that of Great Britain, for example. Indians and Chinese have had to pay dear for imports because they paid in cheap silver, and exports have had an advantage because foreigners paid in silver. The fall in prices has been a cruel burden, but it is tending to produce its orthodox effect—a "favorable" foreign-trade position.

This angle of the situation is illustrated by the fact that in the depressed year 1930 India is estimated to have taken 94,500,000 ounces of silver, the largest total since 1925. Such substantial consumption was made possible by the fact that while India's command over foreign money, through exports of goods, was at a low ebb, the price of silver was also at a low ebb. The same thing may be going on now, foreshadowing business recovery and the return of purchasing power to a little regarded but vastly important area.

S. PALMER HARMAN

Books, Films, Drama

This Dark Recession

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

This dark recession has no text from which
To draw what simple resignation reads
In a year's harvest, whether lean or rich,
When early planting often runs to weeds.
Snow falls and in its time the sap will rise.
Hills have their labor, not of faith like ours,
Unshaken when a rock-starved hemlock dies,
Preaching no gospel in a spathe of flowers.

Earth can bear chilly witness that I ask
Nothing beyond the somber truth of trees—
Twice beautiful, but never twice the same.
Much can be lost; these wintry sunsets mask
A multitude of small finalities,
Not less our own because they have no name.

The Tragedy of Gold

America Weighs Her Gold. By James Harvey Rogers. Yale University Press. \$2.50.

REVIEWERS yield too often to the temptation to say of a book they admire that it ought to be in the hands of every American, but one may go so far as to say that if Professor Rogers's volume could be got into the hands of the President, the Cabinet, and every member of Congress, and if they could all be got to read it, and if—a desperate assumption—a working majority of them could be got to understand it, then at last the world might be put on the way to a real economic recovery. At least, on the off chance that this piece may happen to be read by one of the captains of industry who have been giving anywhere from \$10,000 to \$1,000,000 to "voluntary" unemployment relief, I throw out the hint that it would require little more than \$1,000 to get Professor Rogers's book into the hands of the aforesaid group, and if they really succeeded in digesting its message, the \$1,000 would have been spent to far more effect in the long run than \$1,000,000 for relieving immediate distress, for it would have helped to restore the economic stability of the world.

When I despair of our statesmen being able to understand this book I do not mean to imply that it is particularly "difficult." It is, on the contrary, an extremely clear, compact, and able history and exposition of the role that gold has played in the world since the outbreak of the World War, particularly of the causes that drew nearly half of the entire monetary supply to the United States, and left the lion's share of the remainder in the hands of France. These causes ought to be clear by now to everyone in their broad outlines. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities the French and English began to buy war supplies from us heavily. As their own industries came to be turned more and more exclusively to war work, they had few exports with which to pay for their imports from us, and to the extent that they could not raise loans here, they were obliged to send gold. After the armistice they found themselves saddled with huge war debts to us, and though we had been transformed in a few years from a debtor nation to one of the world's two great creditor nations, we took every possible step to prevent our debtors from paying us. For the interest and principal of

international debts can be paid ultimately only in goods and services, but instead of lowering our tariff walls to make this possible, we have been raising them to more and more preposterous heights. And to the extent that we have not permitted our debtors to pay in goods and services, and have refused to extend them further credit, we have compelled them to pay in gold. The result of this policy has been to give us a constantly greater useless and dangerous supply of the metal, and to draw it away from nations that need it desperately. To America's tragically stupid tariff and debt policy, in short, must be allotted a large share of the responsibility not only for Germany's recent crisis and England's abandonment of the gold standard, but for the whole of the present unparalleled world depression.

All this Professor Rogers sets forth with great clearness; his exposition is supplemented by attractive colored charts and concise statistical tables; and it is astonishingly up to date. Though the book was completed before England deserted the gold basis and before the recent so-called "raid on the dollar," it hints very strongly at least at the first consequence, though it could hardly have been expected to anticipate the second.

Though Professor Rogers's analysis is very sound in its main outlines, there are one or two points of theoretical weakness. In the early part of the volume he assumes that when new gold comes on the market, the industrial and other non-monetary demands are filled first, and that only the "residual supplies" go into monetary or reserve use. Yet an analysis of his own table (pp. 213-214) should have led him to see that it was no accident that the amount of new gold that went into monetary and reserve employment in the five war years from 1914 to 1918, inclusive, averaged \$322,000,000 annually, an increase of \$95,000,000, or 42 per cent, over the average of the five years before the war, and that this happened though world production of gold actually declined in the war period from a pre-war annual average of \$460,000,000 to one of \$432,000,000. Here it was obviously the industrial demand that got only the "residual supplies." It is significant also that in the post-war years 1919-23, inclusive, the new gold going into monetary use declined again by nearly 50 per cent.

A much more serious theoretical error lies in Professor Rogers's assumption that the pressure of payments and the flow of gold here must result in the rise of our price level and the decline of foreign price levels. He calls this—with some justification—the "classical theory" of the matter; it is at least the traditional textbook theory; it is accepted by Professor Rogers himself, and therefore he is puzzled and driven to offer many explanations of why it has not worked out. "A long search for statistical evidence of such price-level separations," he remarks, "has yielded only negative results." He then offers "four possible explanations" of this failure. The second is this:

Existing price indexes are ill-adapted to the purpose of making international price comparisons. The more reliable ones are in general so highly influenced by international products, such as wheat, cotton, sugar, coffee, silk, rubber, et cetera, the prices of which are determined in world markets, as to make them almost unusable.

This remark is naive. For the products that Professor Rogers mentions—as the products that he would *exclude* from his price-level comparisons—are the chief products of international trade! Indeed, the prices of *all* the transportable products that enter into international trade tend, because of their very nature, to be determined in world markets. There is, and there has been for generations, a great gap between the price level in the United States and the price level in, for example, Italy, but to the extent that that gap exists in articles which do not enter into international trade—such as land, houses, rents, goods of local consumption, etc.—it is *irrelevant* from Professor Rogers's stand-

point. But where the gap exists in articles that do enter largely into international trade it is seldom likely to be much greater than the cost of shipment plus the amount of the tariff. Professor Rogers will never find the kind of growing gap he conceives of between American and foreign gold price levels for the simple reason that gold itself, in so far as its movement is unrestricted, has one world value and not a number of separate national values, in the same way that wheat and cotton have a world price and not a merely local price. Finally, Professor Rogers's implied belief that the United States could raise and control its gold price level merely by a deliberate policy of credit inflation has little to support it; and his final sardonic jibe at our "caterpillar natures" for continuing to adhere to the gold standard seems a trifle gratuitous in view of the fact that he himself has no substitute to offer.

HENRY HAZLITT

An Author in Evening Dress

First Person Singular. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

THE question is sometimes asked, Why should the man who wrote "Of Human Bondage" now write trash? It is indisputable that Mr. Maugham, despite the authorship of one novel of almost universal appeal, ceased some time ago to be a force and was bought, as it were, for the stable of W. R. Hearst. In fact, so vivid has been his conversion to Mammon that we imagine him now as most of the time in evening dress, the perfect picture of a fashionable novelist, carnation always in lapel; so that quite naturally he takes his place among the glittering passengers in the grand saloon of that quadruple-screw ship which bore "The Gentleman from San Francisco" across the ocean, that ship which symbolized, in Bunin's short story, the meaningless great world that is to be destroyed—modern Babylon.

And as a matter of fact, in these "Six Stories Written in the First Person Singular," where Mr. Maugham appears in the background as "I" and "the novelist," most of the time he is in evening dress. Our curiosity is aroused; we cannot help reading the book, whether or not the actions of its principal characters are imaginary, for what it reveals by the way of the personal life of its author. And why not? Why stop on the frontier of flimsy artifice when the real world lies beyond? Why be content with "Mortimer Ellis," with "Mrs. Albert Forrester," with "Ferdie Rabenstein," those slapdash, paper-deep fictions, when W. Somerset Maugham, the living novelist, lies within our reach? We have a chance here to examine one of the most interesting passengers aboard that symbolic liner, one of the distinctive modern types—a popular author, celebrated for long runs and best-sellers.

We observe a man of middle years and middle-class parentage who has made a place for himself in the world against what seem to have been unusually heavy odds. He is married, he says, but whenever seen he is alone. He travels a great deal. He is received into many classes of society, including the aristocracy. His warmest eloquence is shown over a lamb cutlet. There is no pressing labor that fills his life; time, in fact, hangs heavy on his hands. Being bored, he seeks diversion at swell restaurants, at hotels, at parties, and picks up, naturally, a kind of savoir-faire. Not a real savoir-faire, however, any more than the swell world in which he moves is really swell, the aristocrats really aristocrats, the friends really friends. The truth is that he is far too timid, too thin-skinned to be a man of the world; the "high life" that he frequents is no more than a greater night club with its cash register concealed; the aristocrats are pushing, shaky vulgarians; and the friends detest one

another. It is a world of pseudo-suavity, of pseudo-pleasure, of pseudo-gentility, and genuine dislike.

Now let us look at the stories. The fortune of a manufacturer, as we know, often rests upon exploitation, sharp practice, juggled stocks, adulteration. Upon what rests the fortune of a popular author? We must recall that he is obliged to meet the requirements of women who will read the advertisement next to his story and will buy a pore cleanser because some needy heiress has signed her name to a prepared indorsement. We must not be surprised if he drives home his innuendoes with a hammer, if he employs a "brilliance" that would dazzle no one but a housewife, if his work as a whole bears the same resemblance to its pretensions as troops on the musical-comedy stage bear to real soldiers. These are stories of the middle-aged married woman who ruined both her own life and her husband's because she did *not* commit adultery; of the comic-strip bigamist who needed one more wife to make it a "round dozen"; of the duke's daughter who slept on the sly with a footman; of the unattractive spinster who by a change of clothes, coiffure, and audience was transformed into a famous beauty and wit; of the reversion to type of a family of Jewish nobility; of the highbrow authoress whose henpecked husband eloped with the cook and inspired her to write a best-seller. Mr. Maugham, showing signs of his experience in the theater, has "pointed" his stories with an uncanny sense of his audience. There can be few clichés to incrust his six subjects that he has overlooked.

Anyone who glances below the surface will see that however jauntily he claps on his topper and sets off for Ciro's, at heart he is very unhappy. And what else could be expected of a writer of his gifts, the green-hued Mildred's creator, when he has been brought to the point of declaring resignedly in his preface that "the average life of a novel is ninety days." The tragedy of Somerset Maugham is in that apparently bland cynicism. Ninety days! What an incentive to good workmanship, to care, to creation! No writer can put his heart into a book that is going to be thrown away. And no one—no, not even the manufacturer—is happy in producing shoddy goods.

There is despair then in the heart of the impressive figure in the grand saloon. It is a tortured smile on the face of the distinguished author as he inwardly waits—for what?

What metamorphosis took place? What happened to the man who wrote "Of Human Bondage"? Were his desires worldly from the start; was he fired originally with no artist's longing to see and make, but with an earthling's lust to dine well and glitter? Or was a man of genius, a virgin heart, seduced by the great world of riches and power?

"Woe to thee, Babylon, that mighty city!"

GERALD SYKES

Julian Huxley on Religion

What Dare I Think? By Julian Huxley. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

IT is no wonder that simple rationalists like our own Mr. Mencken end by regarding the human animal as hopelessly incorrigible. No sooner have they liberated him from the burden of superrational obligations and fears than he begins to invent them anew, and instead of passing from orthodoxy into materialism he rushes into the arms of a new religion as soon as he is dislodged from the old. Even science—or at least the scientist—turns traitor, and physics, no less than biology, begins to discover that incomprehensibility leads—as of old—straight to God. The Quantum theory, to say nothing of "Heisenberg's principle," seems about as far from common sense as the doctrine of the Atonement, and the old-fashioned, hard-headed

rationalist who used to hope that science would lead mankind into a simplified world must feel that there is not too much to choose between a council of Byzantine theologians and a meeting of a society for the advancement of science where the theory of an exploding universe is defended against the theory of a dying one and the "cosmic ray" is set up against the second law of thermo-dynamics. Nor is he to be entirely blamed if, with a despairing sense that we are getting back to the place we came from, he mutters bitterly to himself, "Homoeousian or Homooousian?—Credo quia absurdum est."

Now, Julian Huxley, as it is hardly necessary to say, does not belong to the group of scientists who are so extravagantly demonstrating in their own persons the contention that the religious tendency is indomitable. He quite frankly expresses his disapproval of those, like Whitehead and Eddington, who represent "a premature attempt to cut the Gordian knot by means of a philosophic mysticism," and, indeed, he goes farther, for when he comes to discuss what it is possible to believe he so completely rules out anything suggesting even a legitimately personifiable God that his religion—if it may still be called by that name—is as much more tenuous than that of Millikan or even Whitehead as theirs is more tenuous than, let us say, the religion of Gladstone. But the fact remains that even a biologist as cautious as he feels the impulse to discuss the subject, and that in the present book he turns rather quickly from a discussion of the future possibilities of biological control of the human species to what he calls "scientific humanism" and ends with a chapter on Science and the Future of Religion.

There is, he says, no such thing as a "religious instinct"; but there exist, nevertheless, in man certain capacities for feeling which find in religion an opportunity for expression not afforded by science. When the former is stripped of its pseudo-scientific claims, when it is prevented—as it must be prevented—from interfering with the rational pursuit and rational use of knowledge, there remain, "first, a reaction of the human spirit to the facts of human destiny and the forces by which it is influenced; and, secondly, a reaction into which there enters a feeling of sacredness." Moreover, these reactions are of great importance, since "while the scientific picture of the universe, in which naturalism and determinism rule, grows ever more triumphant and complete, yet it becomes ever more sharply set off from the world of values in which the human spirit has its being . . . [and] the mysticism of some modern philosophers is due to a reaction against the aridity of a world without values." Scientific humanism must recognize that "religion is a way of experiencing the impact of the outer universe on the personality as a whole," and that "the universe and the human personality being what they are, this way of feeling will always involve some feeling of sacredness." Hence, though the religion of the future must carefully guard itself against any tendency to be anti-scientific, yet it must recognize the fact that "in religion, so long as it is alive, four aspects are blended: there is immediate emotional experience; there is ritual expression; there is a connection with morality; and there is an intellectual scaffolding of ideas and beliefs. These can never be wholly disentangled."

Few will quarrel with Mr. Huxley's most fundamental idea, for even those who fear that the use of the word "religion" prepares the way for absurdity will admit that pure science in itself has no concern with even the conception of value, without which, nevertheless, a genuinely human life is impossible. Few also will deny that the war between science and religion—as it was understood in Gladstone's time—is not only over but that it ended in a decisive victory for science. One may, however, be permitted to wonder whether or not it is true that—as is now so commonly maintained—redefinition of terms has made meaningless the whole conception of a "conflict" between science and religion, and one may ask still further

if that redefinition does not, indeed, make even clearer than it was before what the nature of the conflict is.

No one can deny that religion and science still clash over the importance to be attached to certain ideas of "value" and of "sacredness"—to be attached, for example, to the nature of the marriage relation—and that such ideas stand in the way of the scientific control of population in which Mr. Huxley himself is so much interested. Nor will it do to say that these ideas must and will be adjusted so as to permit science to do her beneficent work. For no matter what values religion creates, certain of them are bound recurrently to interfere with the proposals of a growing or changing science, and hence the conflict is bound to arise from time to time just so long as certain things are made valuable or sacred in a way which science cannot recognize. To say this is not of course to say that each individual conflict may not be ultimately resolved, just as that concerning population will doubtless be resolved. But it is to say that the "conflict between science and religion," instead of being defined out of existence, is, as a matter of fact, destined to be again and again—perhaps eternally again and again—reborn.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A Dead Poetic Movement

The Poems of Wilfred Owen. Edited with a Memoir by Edmund Blunden. Viking Press. \$2.

READING Edmund Blunden's introductory memoir in Wilfred Owen's book of collected poems is a depressing experience. The collection is not a success; Owen's work was and still remains incomplete, poetry written by a man who died too soon and whose failure was characteristic of an entire movement in English poetry. Wilfred Owen was a Georgian, little known in this country, but as much a part of the movement as Edward Thomas, Rupert Brooke, Robert Graves, Siegfried Sassoon, W. H. Davies, and half a dozen others. Today he is remembered as the best of a group who wrote directly of the war and attempted to make poetry rise above the conditions of trench warfare.

At this point it might be well to make a brief summary of the Georgian platform, and in doing so we must go back to pre-war England. The Georgians were revolting against the more florid aspects of the late Victorians, particularly in the work of Swinburne and Oscar Wilde. They returned to Wordsworth and the simple, declarative sentence, and were all for rediscovering the English countryside where old men sat in calm sunlight eating red apples. Beauty was their cry; not drawing-room or literary beauty, but beauty of the outdoors and of the primitive. We may go no farther for the best expression of these tendencies than the South Sea poems of Rupert Brooke and the pastorals of W. H. Davies. But for moments of realistic sentimentality (see W. W. Gibson, W. H. Davies, and even John Masefield) the Georgians ignored or flatly rejected city life and modern civilization. So much for the positive elements in the movement.

What they lacked or failed to develop was equally important. They underrated the value of precision in the use of words and ideas. Their vocabulary was a rehash of words found ready made in traditionally romantic poetry. Vague ideas of beauty were enough for them, and by the time the war drove them back into civilization they had exhausted the possibilities of their platform. The picture is pathetic, for they were ill-equipped to meet the needs of war-time hysteria and disillusionment.

Georgian war poetry, though popular for a few years, was a ghastly experiment. From the patriotic rhetoric of Rupert Brooke's war sonnets to the hastily assumed realism

of Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, poetic bankruptcy was in evidence everywhere. Robert Graves, Sassoon, and Owen made a futile gesture toward honesty. They adopted strained, hard-boiled attitudes which were something of a right-about-face from their original positions, and produced a language that was neither poetic nor an accurate use of the vernacular. Yet there is scarcely a poem in Owen's entire collection that does not disclose genuine emotion. His courage was admirable, but his medium was an inadequate weapon with which to fight war and its brutality. All the horrors of war could not upon a moment's notice be thrown into imaginative perspective.

One sympathizes with Edmund Blunden's effort to defend Owen against a critical—and perhaps hostile—posterity. Scattered throughout the volume such lines as these are found:

Till the fierce love they bear
Cramps them in death's extreme decrepitude.

and

Heart, you were never hot
Nor large, nor full like hearts made great with shot.

Here is the beginning of poetry, but one finds it impossible to follow Blunden when he speaks of Owen as another Keats. Perhaps Rupert Brooke would have developed beyond all others, perhaps Owen. One thinks of how Sassoon turned from poetry to novels, of W. H. Davies's arrested development, of how Gibson, though still alive, is sterile. In all likelihood the Georgian movement was not killed by the war but died a natural death.

There is, however, a curious exception, a single poet, now living in this country. He was a visiting American and a friend of Edward Thomas. All the original simplicity that the Georgians strove for is found in his poetry. Their language has been made over into a language that is his own and is foreign to their ears. His name is Robert Frost.

HORACE GREGORY

A Great Proconsul

Lyautey. By André Maurois. Translated by Hamish Miles. D. Appleton and Company. \$3.

M MAUROIS has explained in his "Aspects of Biography" that for him biography is a form of self-expression; his "Shelley" and his "Disraeli" are aspects of his own personality, media for the release of emotional attitudes which he objectifies by attaching them to historical personages. Biography, in other words, is a substitute for fiction. If the biographer can find congenial subjects, he has certain advantages over the novelist; he is freed from the task of invention—a task which the greatest artists have often preferred to avoid; and he can inspire immediate conviction in the truth of his narrative. This form of biography is impossible, however, with living personages; it requires ample materials for defining the intimate emotional characteristics of its hero; and it can be written only with complete candor.

In "Lyautey" M. Maurois gives us a portrait of a great man of action. Since Lyautey is still alive, is in fact his biographer's personal friend, M. Maurois confines himself to a narrative of events; he is even unnecessarily cautious about estimating personal character and describing individual traits. Very occasionally there are flashes which remind us of the author of "Disraeli" and "Byron"; we learn that Lyautey is a romantic of action; that his passion for work springs from an immense capacity for boredom; that his aristocratic and Christian background made him a bad politician but a great colonial administrator; that his success was due to his capacity for flinging himself with the same enthusiasm into whatever lay before

him, to his willingness to abandon all theories and general principles when they no longer corresponded to the facts, and to his unbounded confidence in his subordinates. But in the body of the book Lyautey rarely comes alive. A contemporary can be made real only if his character is guessed at much more boldly or if his actions and background are painted in with much greater detail.

Lyautey sprang from a royalist and Catholic family, and in his youth he visited and offered his sword to the legitimist heir to the throne. His acceptance of the republic was hastened by an interview with the Pope, who refused to ally the church with a cause so obviously lost, and by an attempt to improve the conditions of the soldiers in his company, an attempt which was considered revolutionary by his conservative friends and won him approval from the liberals. Up to the age of forty, however, he was merely an undistinguished cavalry officer who had never seen active service. In 1894 he was appointed to Tonking; there he served under Galliéni, and from Galliéni he learned how the conquest of savage countries should be accompanied by the spread of civilization—by the building of roads, railroads, and telegraphs, by the establishment of farms, manufactures, and markets. At the same time the genius of the people should not be thwarted; good government and civilization must be spread through the natives and not in spite of them. It was this doctrine that Lyautey afterwards applied in Madagascar and finally in Morocco, which, with a brief and unsuccessful interval at the War Office in Paris, he governed from 1911 to 1925.

Lyautey is the greatest proconsul of our time, and the Anglo-Saxon peoples, who have so often claimed a monopoly of the art of government, might profit by a study of his methods. There were two factors in his success which both English and Americans have too often forgotten. He remembered that colored peoples were human beings like himself; he treated them as equals and preserved their institutions whenever possible; his Christianity, says M. Maurois, had taught him that all men were brothers. And all his buildings and towns were planned with the utmost care for the aesthetic effect, and so that they blended with the native architecture around them.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES

Experiments in Liquor Control

Liquor Control. By George E. G. Catlin. Henry Holt and Company. \$1.25.

The Prohibition Experiment in Finland. By John H. Wuorinen. Columbia University Press. \$3.50.

MR. CATLIN has compressed into one of the small volumes of the Home University Library as good a general survey of the whole problem of liquor control as could reasonably be asked for. He sketches the history of drinking as a social habit in various countries and at different times, examines the physiological, biological, and psychological aspects of the use of alcohol, reviews the economics of the use and sale of liquor, and discusses prohibition, the licensing system, and other experiments in public control. A good deal of statistical material is worked into the narrative, and the explanation of the various methods of control is exceptionally detailed for so condensed a work.

One gathers that Mr. Catlin's perfected society, if he could have the making of one, would offer little opportunity for the personal use of alcohol, and the reader who does not sympathize with that view will be likely to conclude that the book is at bottom a defense of prohibition, or at least of rigorous restriction. The conclusion could hardly be otherwise with a book which, while carefully pointing out the limitations of present

methods of control, repeatedly emphasizes the evils of drinking and the moral contrarieties which confront a society in which drinking exists. With all its judicious balancing of pros and cons, the book seems somewhat tendentious. Mr. Catlin agrees with those who think that the claims of alcohol to biological, physiological, and psychological usefulness are on the whole ill-founded. To the extent that personal efficiency is actually reduced by drinking, the drinker, he properly remarks, "indubitably weakens the economic strength of his nation in world competition and in maintaining the standard of real wages of the community," but he apparently believes that with a higher standard of living and "under more spacious conditions of life" excessive indulgence may be expected to decline. The theoretical case for prohibition he regards as "invincible" provided the consumption of alcohol is regarded as "potentially dangerous," if "restriction, as distinct from the mere control of even free play of natural impulses, is regarded as a cardinal principle of sound morals and of a religious civilization," and if the majority that wants prohibition is to rule. The most efficient method of control, he thinks, is through local trusts "for the sale, where demanded, under the most respectable and agreeable conditions, of all such alcoholic liquors as public opinion might choose to sanction," although this would not work in a community which resented the idea of the association of any public body with the liquor traffic.

Prohibition in Finland has been severely criticized anew since Dr. Wuorinen's book was written, and his work is therefore especially timely as a thorough and scholarly study of the system. Although in no sense popular, the book will be valued for its admirable history of prohibition in Finland, for its careful and detailed statistical investigation of the operation and effects of the system, and for its impartial review of the difficulties with which the scheme had to contend. It is interesting to note that Dr. Wuorinen clearly forecasts some radical modification of the system in the light of the experience of the past decade.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Technical Difficulty

The Old Crowd. By William Fitzgerald, Jr. Longman's, Green and Company. \$2.

THE second novel by William Fitzgerald, Jr., deserves attention not particularly for its excellences, but for defects which are now common to the general run of novels. These defects seem to be almost wholly technical defects, for William Fitzgerald writes smoothly enough and he has the distinct ability to establish the external manners of his people's lives and to let those manners shade and brighten his people's conduct, without in any way suggesting that this shadow and light is the substance of their lives. He does not, besides, simply evoke the past, like Hergesheimer, or try to build a mood of regret.

In spite of these advantages, his novel falls apart. It is built around the shadowy character of the "Colonel," a lecherous lady-killer; but it is merely built around, it is never really built up. This novel, like so many others, is episodic; each episode is a whole, a piece by itself. Nothing touches anything else. Consequently the characters are isolated, arrested; they too never touch each other, and their various reactions are arrested reactions to be told about. There is no motion within the novel. And when finally the end is reached in the episode in which the Colonel tumbles down a flight of stairs instead of opening a door into a sleeping servant girl's room, as he had intended, his crash is noiseless in the novel. It is as if he did not fall at all down wooden stairs, waking his invalid wife and breaking his own real neck, but instead dissolved in-

stantly into empty space where nothing else was, but where, we are told, Racey, Sue, Master Will, Miss Bess, all the old crowd, are. The defect is fatal to the story.

The defect can be labeled a technical one because the form of the novel makes it impossible that the characters be otherwise than separate from each other; the episodic nature of the novel is final. Because the characters are arrested, they have a sameness about them. They must be stopped at the same significant points to make the novel even a possible one to write; and so they arrange themselves around the figure of the Colonel in various attitudes, like a chalk-white tableau in a circus. If one of them happens to move, as some of the minor characters occasionally do, the tableau is upset, disturbed. The result is a kind of bastard realism; various real attitudes are assumed, but only attitudes. Any motion in the novel disfigures these attitudes, instead of making them poignant and moving. The characters do not stop like people in the street and then pass on naturally. They stand like cows and ruminate, never changing expression.

The defect is traceable, probably, to the devastating influence of the short story on the novel. Characters in short stories are bound to have a minimum of characteristics; their lives, if pretending to realism, must be fixed for an attitude. Gradually the short-story manner has crept into the novel, until most novels of less than first-rate rank are a collection of short stories, variations on a theme. If William Fitzgerald, Jr., can get the short story out of his system, he will probably write a novel of considerable distinction.

KENNETH WHITE

The Sisson "Documents"

One Hundred Red Days. By Edgar Sisson. Yale University Press. \$5.

EDGAR SISSON went to Russia in 1917 to conduct anti-pacifist propaganda on behalf of George Creel's official Committee on Public Information. He arrived in Petrograd after the Bolshevik Revolution, on November 25, 1917, and remained one hundred days. That period has impressed itself indelibly and, as he himself indicates, almost pathologically, on his mind. He still lives in it. His ideas on Russia have not changed since 1918. Lenin to him is "the madman." Trotzky is "perfidious Trotzky." The Bolsheviks are the "boldest pirates in history," who, he prophesied in 1918, would soon be swept "from the country they have temporarily stolen." He says of his experiences in the Soviet capital and en route: "I have lived in darkness for five months." This is an unwitting confession. He knew very little of what was going on around him. But that the aftermath of "the ten days that shook the world" was to him "darkness" is the measure of the man. He hated the Bolsheviks as soon as he understood that they would not finish the war on the side of the Allies. He evaluated the revolution by only one standard: was it pro-war or anti-war? This is the clue to all Sisson's revelations.

Sisson's thesis is "the Bolshevik-German conspiracy." The Bolsheviks were a "puppet government" acting under direct instructions from the German General Staff. His sixty-eight "documents" are intended to prove this proposition. Whether they succeed is a question apart and will be dealt with below, but it is significant that nothing in Mr. Sisson's detailed daily log, nothing in his lengthy citations from Soviet speeches and decrees supports his theory. On the contrary. In January, 1918, Sisson wrote in a letter, "If any class in Russia will fight Germany it will be the Bolsheviks." Only when his "documents" were imposed on him did he begin to believe that the secret of Bolshevik acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk separate

peace was a previous agreement between Lenin and Ludendorff. One could as well accuse Hindenburg of being an Allied spy for submitting to Foch's harsh armistice terms. Lenin had no choice. Sir George Buchanan, the British ambassador in Petrograd, said so in a message to his government on November 27, 1917. Other keen observers shared his view. But Sisson, the war-to-the-bitter-end patriot, could not see this simple truth.

Of course, Lenin and other Communists, and some non-Communists, came from Switzerland across Germany to Russia with Ludendorff's aid. Ludendorff thought they would serve his purposes. He was also serving theirs. Later, in a crisis, Lenin was likewise prepared to ask the Allies for assistance. "Please add my vote," he wrote, "in favor of the receipt of support from the Anglo-French brigands." The phrasing explains why the same Lenin welcomed the cooperation of the German General Staff. And did not American, French, Italian, and British officers train the red army after the Brest-Litovsk treaty was negotiated, and after United States Ambassador Francis had seen Sisson's "documents"?

Admiral Kolchak, the Allies' biggest "white" hope, was in Singapore en route to the British front in Mesopotamia when the British "ordered" him to proceed to Siberia and start a movement against the Soviets. The Allies financed him, his government, and his armies. Forgeries and stolen tapes are not necessary to demonstrate that all anti-Bolshevik military efforts—Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, Yudenich, Miller, Chaikovsky—depended for their very existence on material support from the Allies. Sisson wished to help Kolchak. Is the difference, then, that the "whites" took from the pure hands of the Allies, and the Bolsheviks from the horrible "Huns"?

Sisson's fable of the "Bolshevik-German conspiracy" has been a sinister influence, and some people still credit it. A careful analysis of his book undermines him completely. Space, unfortunately, does not permit exhaustive treatment here. I can only indicate that the chapter on the Kalpashnikov case is patent distortion, as will be seen from a study of the American Red Cross memorandum which Sisson presumably had to print lest Colonel Raymond Robins publish it and refute him. The story of the Diamandi arrest is wicked misrepresentation. The Bolsheviks imprisoned him, broke off relations with Rumania, and sequestered the Rumanian gold fund because Rumania had occupied the Russian province of Bessarabia beginning January, 1918. Sisson omits this "detail" of the occupation. There is no mention of it in all his 455 pages. But the omission enables Sisson to "explain" Minister Diamandi's incarceration by means of a "document" purporting to contain the German General Hoffmann's instructions to Petrograd to carry out the arrest. But the whole thing is too transparent. Moreover, although Sisson was, with the help of the British intelligence service, tapping the Bolshevik wire from Petrograd to Brest-Litovsk, he did not understand what was happening in the Communist Party: how it split on the Brest issue. The documents on this important historical episode were published in Russian years ago, and were made available in English in my "The Soviets in World Affairs." Sisson, however, relies on the "information" he gathered in 1918, and frequently goes wrong. He also misinformed Washington. He thinks, for instance, that Zinoviev sided with Trotzky. The very opposite is true. Lenin's position is hopelessly mangled by Sisson. I could list scores of factual errors.

I pass, however, to the "documents." The first one was the letter in which General Hoffmann is alleged to have commanded the Bolsheviks to arrest Minister Diamandi. It was shown to Ambassador Francis by Eugene Semenev, editor of the suppressed Petrograd *Evening Times*. Semenev claimed that it had been withdrawn from the Bolshevik archives at Smolny headquarters, and could be photographed but had to be

replaced. This occurred on February 5, 1918. Three days earlier Colonel Robins, the chief of the American Red Cross in Russia, showed Sisson a batch of similar "documents" supposedly proving a "Bolshevik-German conspiracy." Robins regarded them as worthless. Sisson took them seriously. They were being peddled about in the city, and offered to numerous embassies and individuals. Sisson discovered that they could be traced, for the most part, to the Right Social Revolutionaries (Semenev was a Right Social Revolutionary) and to the group of monarchist generals—Kaledin, Kornilov, and Alexeiev—with whom the Right Social Revolutionaries like Savinkov were cooperating. Later in February several groups working for Semenev and Sisson are said by Sisson to have taken advantage of the chaos resulting from the removal of Soviet headquarters from Smolny to the Moscow Kremlin to steal a number of originals. Sisson himself never obtained any of the "documents" directly. He did not know, he merely accepted the word of Semenev and others that the "documents" were really taken from Bolshevik files. "The responsibility for the genuineness of these documents," Sisson quotes Semenev as writing in 1921, "rests upon me personally. Over fifty of them I handed to Mr. Sisson during February, 1918 . . ." This may be sufficient authority for Sisson, but not for the historian.

Professor Voss, whom Sisson proclaims as an expert on Russian affairs, expressed his opinion of the Sisson "documents" in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of March 31, 1919. He affirmed that although "by far the larger part of the collection bears . . . the stamp of authenticity on the face of them," nevertheless, "it is questionable whether some of the documents he [Sisson] considers genuine are so—we refer to numbers 5, 6, 10, 11, and 35." But how can "documents" supposedly lifted from Bolshevik files be anything but genuine? If some are forgeries may not all be forgeries? Even Paul Miliukov does not accept all the "documents."

Except in the case of three or four "documents," we are asked to credit them on their own internal evidence, with no objective or circumstantial proof. The support for one "document" is in another "document." Thus, Sisson presents Document 1. It is intended to show that the Bolsheviks took German money. Below it Sisson comments: "I have not a copy of this circular nor a photograph of it, but Document 2, next in order, proves its authenticity at once curiously and absolutely." He adds that the Bolsheviks officially denied the existence of Document 2.

Mr. Sisson did only one thing in Russia that may be regarded as useful—he circulated millions of copies of President Wilson's peace address through the German lines on the Eastern front, thus undermining Germany's morale and perhaps shortening the World War. He himself admits and repeats that he could not have achieved this without the assistance of the Bolshevik Government—"the German agents."

LOUIS FISCHER

Books in Brief

The Golden Vase. By Ludwig Lewisohn. Harper and Brothers. \$2.

In "The Golden Vase" Lewisohn narrates a brief episode in the life of an American novelist named John Ridgevale, who, at the age of fifty-six and after the publication of a two-volume novel, travels to Europe for his health. Meeting Lisl Schönbrenn, a young woman who translates his novels into German, he falls in love with her, but because of the discrepancy in their ages leaves her. This fragile story, in which Lewisohn's stylistic virtues come close to perfection, provides him with an opportunity to discuss two of his three favorite themes: the rela-

tion between literature and love, and the place of the artist in America. (His major preoccupation, the racial problem, does not enter into this book.) His treatment of the former theme has never been clearer or, perhaps, more persuasive; his treatment of the latter is, as usual, vague and superficial.

Wings Against the Moon. By Lew Sarett. Henry Holt and Company. \$2.

This is Mr. Lew Sarett's fourth volume of what is really, by definition, folk poetry. All of his best verse has been rooted in legend and in Indian and lumberjack lore. This poet has the spirit of the frontiersman, and his experience as a woodsman, his knowledge of animal life and of the various out-of-door aspects of living form the background for all of his writing. His writing is in the direct line of descent from one of the earliest of American characteristics in literature, the tall tale of the backwoodsman. Here is the vanishing American wilderness, here the simple language and imagery, the direct manner of thinking, the ballad technique which mark genuine folk poetry. When Mr. Sarett attempts the translation of more subtle emotion or the form of the more intricate lyric he usually fails; on his own level of observation he is very successful.

The Career of Julian Stanley-Williams. By Adrian Alington. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

The career of a mediocre actor who suffers from delusions of grandeur, sponges on his mother, wrecks his wife's life, and finally murders his tiresome soul-mate and mistress and commits suicide would have made good enough material for a short story. As a long novel which only repeats in event after event the hero's vanity and selfishness, it is monotonous and pointless. Even if there were no structural faults in the novel, the author's heavy bearing down on Julian's shortcomings would be sufficient to weaken it.

Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil. By John Sparrow. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

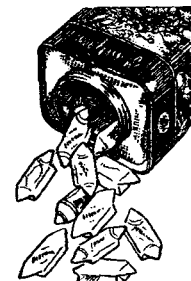
If the minuteness of this study is evidence of its author's patience and skill as a scholar, the very fact of its existence testifies to the peculiar fame of Vergil, whose epic is here examined with a view to determining whether the famous hemistiches and repeated lines were intentional or not—whether or not, that is to say, Vergil would have removed them had he been given time to complete his revision. Mr. Sparrow, steering a middle course between the extremes of opinion, analyzes all the hemistiches and repeated lines, and attempts—usually with success—to decide in each case whether the passage involved was unfinished or whether it was left this way for effect.

Social Thinking Shackled. By Leo Jacobs. The Grafton Press. \$2.

Dr. Leo Jacobs, author also of "Three Types of Practical Ethical Movements," has written in "Social Thinking Shackled" a dignified, scholarly, and extremely interesting little book. It cannot fail to engage the attention of students of social theory and particularly of those who seek to comprehend the foundations on which our wavering economic structure still rests. It is Dr. Jacobs's contention, ably and succinctly argued, that the essential strands of our economic-politico-social fabric were first and finally woven by Aristotle. The Stagirite therefore becomes the first great theoretician of capitalism. All the precepts of our industrial paternalism, according to Dr. Jacobs, find their origin in "nature's private secretary." Aristotle is the post to which our social thinking is shackled. A knowledge of the origins of our present social paralysis is surely a stimulus to any constructive effort to ameliorate it. From this point of view Dr. Jacobs's analysis is seen as one which is not merely shrewd but undeniably valuable.

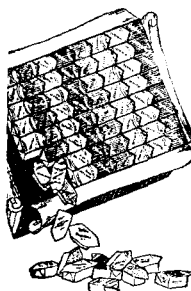
Thanksgiving's Coming

Welcome It
with Mosselprom!



The turkey's good and fat . . . your menu is planned from soup to nuts. But how about the after dinner sweets? You know you won't appreciate anything heavy. Now's your chance to

delight your family and guests—serve Mosselprom! Delicious imported fresh fruit—filled *crunchy* morsels that will add the last perfect touch to your feast. Each piece separately wrapped—orchards of fruit in every pound. Moderate in price, and even more economical, purchased in the original 5-pound tin. And try Mosselprom Chocolate Cream Caramels, and Orange and Lemon Slices. Sold at your grocer, delicatessen, drug or department store.



AMTORG TRADING CORP., 261 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

MOSSELPROM



IS THE FIRST OF THE NEW, IMPORTED "PROM" CANDIES

Distributors for the retail Grocery Trade

A. KRASNE

136th St. and Walnut Ave.

New York City

Three Studies Just Published on

MANCHURIA

By C. WALTER YOUNG

Japan's Special Position in Manchuria (\$3.00)

The International Legal Status of the Kwantung
Leased Territory (\$2.25)

Japanese Jurisdiction in the South Manchuria
Railway Areas (\$3.00)

" . . . these three volumes constitute one of the most important contributions which have been made during recent years to the scientific study of political conditions in the Far East."—W. W. WILLOUGHBY.

(Complete Set of Three Volumes \$7.50)

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS • BALTIMORE

REUNION

CAMP

TAMIMENT REUNION

November 22nd—Sunday Afternoon

Unusual Feature Surprises

will be given in the "most luxurious swimming pool in the world" at the Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, and in the most beautiful ballroom in the United States.

Admission to Dance and Exhibition . . . \$1

HOTEL ST. GEORGE

Clark St. Station, I.R.T.

Clark St., B'klyn.

Court St. Station, B.M.T.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

Drama

Fools

TASTE in clowns is doubtless even less disputable than taste in other things, but Mr. Ed Wynn has long been my favorite among the professional fools of today, and I am prepared to give my reasons for finding him supremely satisfying to mind and soul alike. No one can exceed him in solid, impenetrable asininity, but no one can, at the same time, be more amiable, well-meaning, and attractive. Nature gave him a large and solemn face which seemed to promise an unending series of well-intentioned blunders, and his art succeeds somehow in giving the impression that his career has been merely the result of following with an admirable consistency Polonius's excellent advice—"To thine own self be true."

Others, doubtless born with an equally strong natural tendency toward awkwardness, stupidity, and incoherence, have struggled against these native gifts and ended by being merely an annoying point or two below par, but Ed Wynn took the wiser course and by cultivating his defects has made himself the glorious epitome of that particular type of mental deficiency which flowers in the fully developed blunder. Nor has he forgotten to stimulate that constantly recurring hopefulness, that capacity for forgetting in an instant the failures of a moment just past, which alone makes it possible for one to stumble over oneself as often as he does. He is so eager to demonstrate one of his inventions or to recount the plot of the movie whose pathos has impressed him. He is so sure that with the one or the other he is going to redeem himself. And then the something which only he did not expect goes wrong again. Once, the sentiment of his re-creation of the old days in vaudeville is spoiled by the wholly unintentional pun committed when, four tennis balls in his hand, he asks the orchestra to play something "in the juggler vein." Again, the pathos of his tale about the loss of a pet bird which lays square eggs is destroyed by the innocent remark that though this animal superficially resembles a parrot, it cannot say anything except "Ouch!" Mr. Wynn looks hurt. With a glance he begs the audience to give him one more chance and he begins all over again. But it is really no use and everyone except him knows that it is not. Incongruity is his natural element; everything which looks easy turns out to be hard and everything is ridiculous exactly in proportion to the earnestness of its intent to be otherwise.

This is no time to discuss the metaphysical aspects of the phenomenon. I shall postpone to some indefinite future the problem of whether it may be taken to support the Bergsonian or the Freudian theory of the nature of the comic. But I must defend my belief that Mr. Wynn is nobler than any of his foolish competitors—nobler even than Charlie Chaplin, through whose clowning runs a streak of pure sentimentality which to me, at least, is highly distasteful. Joe Cook, on the other hand, resembles him in pure folly, but Joe Cook is so merry himself, so delighted by his own absurdity, that he lacks Wynn's appeal- ingness, and as for the Marx brothers—worthy though they are, their style is quite different. What charms one in them is sheer uninhibited brutality. Pure animals, they lack wholly what a seventeenth-century divine called the "seraphic part" of man, and they are probably at their best when treating women with a casual insolence whose peculiar satisfactoriness is doubtless accounted for by the fact that Americans are much oppressed by the extravagances of their own chivalric tradition. Wynn, on the other hand, is at least half seraphic. He would never be rude. He means so well and one likes him so much

that one often hopes against hope that, just for his sake, something will turn out as he intended. But this charm of his, like every other charm, defies analysis and both the skeptic and the student had best go see him in his delightful revue "The Laugh Parade" (Imperial Theater). He is as funny as he has ever been and he has also introduced several novelties into the production of the revue—chief among which is the hiring of performers with real talent. The show is described as an "entertainment," and unlikely as this may appear to those who frequent musical comedies, it is really entertaining.

"Caught Wet" (John Golden Theater) is in outline merely another of those "who-stole-the-pearls" mysteries, but thanks to the expertness of Rachel Crothers it moves brightly and it has some amusing characters who illustrate what is referred to in "Hamlet" as "flaming youth." Galsworthy's "The Roof" (Charles Hopkins Theater) is a sentimental drama about a group of assorted Englishmen who had their characters "tested" during a fire in a small Paris hotel. It seemed to delight an audience and is probably destined for a long run, but I found it distressingly thin and feeble.

The Messrs. Clark and McCullough, who appeared in Peter Arno's musical comedy "Here Goes the Bride," should perhaps have been included in the dissertation on clowns. Though they belong to the established tradition of the burlesque show they are also exceedingly funny, and by being almost constantly present they made amusing an otherwise fearfully dull show.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

Without Motivation

IT is not surprising in a country where millionaires and sales managers perform prodigious feats merely because they can that our films should pay so little attention to motivation. No doubt mass production is in part responsible. With so many people collaborating on a single picture coherence and integrity are likely to be lost. And herein, perhaps, lies one important reason why the best movies so far have been the faithful adaptations of good books or plays which are planned and written by only one or two people. If skeptics could be scattered over the lot with instructions to ask "Why?" at very frequent intervals, the American movie—and American life as well—might in time become less spectacular and much more nearly an art than it is at present.

"The Sin of Madelon Claudet," which is worth seeing only because of Helen Hayes's excellent performance, is a case in point. It is the story of a French girl who is left with an illegitimate child, gets involved with the law, though she is innocent, and goes to jail for ten years. At the end of her sentence she is persuaded not to reveal her identity to her son who wishes to become a doctor and whose career would be ruined by her past. So far, so good. But the mother, to provide for her son's education, becomes a prostitute with unbelievable promptness and no apparent struggle. She sinks lower and lower until at last, ill and worn out, she becomes a charge upon society, just as her son reaches his goal. There is a false ending tacked on, in which the famous physician takes care of his mother in her last days; there is also a foolish prologue which employs that ancient and quite useless device of having the story told. These are tiresome but superficial sins. The fault which ruins the picture goes much deeper. It lies in the fact that at a crucial point the play parts company with its principal character. The character created by Miss Hayes early in the picture and sustained consistently throughout demands something much less

□ PLAYS □ FILMS □ LECTURES □ DEBATES □

CIVIC LIGHT OPERA CO. PRESENTS
VICTOR HERBERT'S
"NAUGHTY MARIETTA"

With ILSE MARVENGA

Pop. Price Eve. 50c-\$2.50. Wed. Mat. 50c-\$1.50. Sat. Mat. 50c-\$2.
 ERLANGER'S THEATRE, West 44th Street, PENN. 6-7963.

MAURICE SCHWARTZ in
 A Comedy for Cultured People
"IF I WERE YOU"

By Sholem Aleichem

"... it has a simplicity and sincerity which are genuinely charming."
 —Joseph Wood Krutch

COMEDY THEATRE 41st St. E. of Broadway
 Evenings, 8:40. Best seats, \$2.50
 Wednesday and Saturday Matinees. Penn. 6-3558

THE ACTOR MANAGERS, INC., PRESENT
IF LOVE WERE ALL

with WALTER KINGSFORD, ALINE MACMAHON, DONALD BLACKWELL, MARGARET SULLAVAN, HUGH BUCKLER, MABEL MOORE, MARC LOEBELL, others.

BOOTH THEATRE. 45th St. West of Broadway
 Eves. \$1 to \$3. Mats. Wed. \$1 to \$2. Sat. \$1 to \$2.50

The Theatre Guild Presents
 EUGENE O'NEILL'S TRILOGY
MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA

Composed of 3 plays

Homecoming, The Hunted, The Haunted

All 3 plays will be presented on one day, commencing at 5:15 sharp. Dinner intermission of one hour at 7 o'clock. No matinee performances.

PRICES: Orch. and Mezzanine \$6. Balcony, \$5, \$4, \$3 & \$2 (includes 3 plays)
 GUILD THEATRE, 52d St., West of Broadway

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS
REUNION IN VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

MARTIN BECK THEA. 45 St. & 8 Ave. PENN. 6-6100
 Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

SYMPOSIUM

NOV. 22nd "THE CITY—PRESENT AND FUTURE"

SUNDAY Prof. Leroy Bowman—Harry W. Laidler

8:30 Clarence S. Stein—Edith Elmer Wood

BROOKLYN FORUM—BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

30 Lafayette Ave., near Flatbush Ave.

Tickets Still Available, 25c—50c—\$1.00 Box Office

RAND BOOKSTORE—7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

NOV. 29th DEBATE—COMMUNISM VS. SOCIALISM

Scott Nearing vs. Norman Thomas

PROLETARIAN **IS** THE ROAD
 DICTATORSHIP TO FREEDOM

NO—BERTRAND RUSSELL Philosopher and Scientist

YES—JAY LOVESTONE Editor, Revolutionary Age

DEBATE—Friday, November 27th, 8 P.M.

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE—67th St. and 3rd Ave.

TICKETS from New Workers School—83 Madison Ave., Tel.: BO 4-9399

\$2.00, \$1.50, \$1.00—75 cents.

A Clearing House
 of Opinion

THE GROUP

Meets at Auditorium
 150 West 85th St.

Tuesday Evening, Nov. 24th, at 8:30 P.M.

PROF. H. W. L. DANA

will speak on:

"WITH SHAW IN MOSCOW"

This Sunday Aft. at 4:30 P.M.—J. GEORGE FREDERICK

Speaks on: "MATURE LOVE vs. YOUNG LOVE"

SING HIGH, SING LOW

By MURDOCK PEMBERTON and DAVID BOEHM

"Malicious and amusing—The Inner workings of a great Opera House."
 —John Mason Brown. "Exposes the real story that every newspaperman knows and no newspaper prints."—Burns Mantle.

SAM H. HARRIS THEA., 42nd St., W. of B'way. Mats. Wed.-Sat. 2:30
 Evenings 8:30 All Evenings, Best Seats \$3.00



AVON THEATRE, West 45th Street

James B. Pond presents

Cornelia
Otis Skinner

offering for the first time
 her new idea in theatre entertainment

THE WIVES OF HENRY VIII

As presented with distinction at St. James Theatre, London
 "The idea is a happy one and it was admirably carried out."
 —London Times.

Limited Engagement. Every Evening at 8:30 Mats. Thurs. & Sat.
 Seats at Box Office

A New Play
 by
STEEL JOHN WEXLEY
 Author of
THE LAST MILE

TIMES SQUARE THEATRE, 42 St., West of Broadway
 Eves. Best Seats \$3. Thurs. Mat. \$1-\$2. Sat. Mat. \$1-\$1.50

THE GROUP THEATRE PRESENTS
THE HOUSE OF CONNELLY

By PAUL GREEN

Under the Auspices of the Theatre Guild

MANSFIELD THEATRE, 47th St. W. of B'way
 Chi. 4-5852

Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30; Evenings, 8:30

"First American play of the season of any sound quality; a play real in its character, real in its dialogue and consistently intelligent in its approach to its subject matter."—George Jean Nathan, Judge.

THE LEFT BANK

By ELMER RICE

LITTLE THEATRE, 44th Street. Telephone LA 4-6620
 Eves. \$1 to \$3. Wed. Mat. \$1, \$1.50 and \$2. Sat. Mat. \$1-\$2.50

GILBERT MILLER Presents

HELEN HAYES

in MOLNAR'S New Comedy

THE GOOD FAIRY

With WALTER CONNOLLY

Opens TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 24, at 8:30 p.m.

HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE, 124 West 43rd Street

PAYMENT DEFERRED

with

CHARLES LAUGHTON

LYCEUM THEATRE
 Evenings 8:30

45th St. E. of Broadway
 Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

WITHIN THE FORTNIGHT on Page 584

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

THERE is never a dull page in *The New Statesman and Nation*, England's leading weekly review.

If you take a real interest in international affairs—political, social, literary, scientific, artistic or financial—you will find in *The New Statesman and Nation* a weekly inspiration. Its comments and criticism are written with a measure of detached common-sense that makes it refreshingly readable, whilst its contributors are drawn from the most virile and authoritative writers of to-day.

The Publisher invites those not familiar with *The New Statesman and Nation* to send a post-card for a specimen copy of a recent issue.

THE NEW Statesman and Nation

10 Great Queen Street,
Kingsway,
London
W.C.
2

Sixpence every Saturday or by Postal Subscription to any address in the world—30s. (or \$7.50 payable London) including postage.

DICTATORSHIP

In Politics, Industry and Labor Unions, is
Fought in Every Issue of

THE NEW LEADER

America's Foremost Socialist and Labor Weekly

Every Week

Norman Thomas

On "TIMELY TOPICS"

Other Contributors Include:

HEYWOOD BROWN

McALISTER COLEMAN

MORRIS HILLQUIT

KARL KAUTSKY

DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

LOUIS STANLEY

UPTON SINCLAIR

THE NEW LEADER

7 East 15th Street

New York City

\$2.00 for One Year

\$1.00 for Six Months

(Readers of The Nation are welcome to a sample copy)

lurid than a career of prostitution, movie style. The enfeebled old woman who grows so convincingly out of the younger woman just released from jail wears the marks of resignation, drab self-sacrifice, and poverty, but not of cynical dissipation for money. The scenes which depict her as a wanton are not of a piece with the characterization as a whole. It is as if De Maupassant, having given the characterization he does give of Mathilde in "The Necklace," had represented her arbitrarily as paying for the jewels by selling herself. Unfortunately, so long as the movies, like the nouveaux riches, regard simplicity and the ordinary sequences of life as signs of poverty and inferiority, we shall continue to have occasional good performances lost in a welter of spectacular clichés.

If unmotivated sentimentality is the prime fault of American movies, speed is their outstanding virtue, aside from the sheer mechanics of photography. "The Unholy Garden," with Ronald Colman, is a fast-moving farce written by Ben Hecht and Charles McArthur. The idea of a ruined palace in the Arabian desert in which fugitives from justice reside is exploited with gaiety and sophistication. The dialogue, which depends for its effect on the contrast between intellectual crooks and strong-arm gangsters who are thrown together in the "palais royal," is very amusing, and Mr. Colman as the prince of bank robbers maintains his position as the most civilized actor on the screen, with the possible exception of Lewis Stone. That the idea should be allowed to work out its non-moral destiny is, of course, too much to expect. The spirit of farce is at several points crushed under a noble and naive romance in which an exceedingly colorless young lady (Fay Wray) is represented as winning the heart of the irresistible Mr. Colman. But though Mr. Colman is not allowed to steal the ingenue's money, farce has the last word; the final lines of "The Unholy Garden" are as effective as the closing scene of "The Front Page" by the same authors.

MARGARET MARSHALL

□ WITHIN THE FORTNIGHT □

PLAYS TO SEE

Brief Moment—Belasco—W. 44 St.
Civic Light Opera Co.—Erlanger—W. 44 St.
Counsellor-at-Law—Plymouth—W. 45 St.
Cynara—Morosco—45 St. W. of B'way.
Grand Hotel—National—W. 41 St.
Hamlet—Broadhurst—W. 44 St.
If I Were You—Comedy—41 St. E. of B'way.
If Love Were All—Booth—45 St. W. of B'way.
Mourning Becomes Electra—Guild—52 St. W. of B'way.
Payment Deferred—Lyceum Theatre—45 St. E. of B'way.
Reunion in Vienna—Martin Beck—45 St. & 8 Ave.
Sing High, Sing Low—Sam H. Harris—42 St. W. of B'way.
Cornelia Otis Skinner—Avon—W. 45 St.
Streets of New York—48 St.—E. of B'way.
The Barretts of Wimpole Street—Empire—B'way. & 40 St.
The Band Wagon—New Amsterdam—W. 42 St.
The Cat and The Fiddle—Globe—B'way & 46 St.
The House of Connelly—Mansfield—W. 47 St.
The Left Bank—Little—44 St.
The Laugh Parade—Imperial—45 St. W. of B'way.
The School for Scandal—Ethel Barrymore—47 St. W. of B'way.

□ FILMS □

NOW PLAYING!
THRILLING GERMAN HUNGARIAN FILM OPERETTA
with scenes laid in beautiful Munich
"SEIN LIEBESLIED" (His Love Song)
with Paul Vincenti and Ernest Vorse — famous Hungarian stars
Directed by Géza von Bolváry, who is responsible for
"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt"
EUROPA 154 West 55th Street
Continuous Noon to Midnight Just East of 7th Ave. Circle 7-9120
Popular Prices

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation